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**Fundamental Aspects of Guarani Culture
[Aspectos Fundamentais da Cultura Guarani]**

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[Title page]

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

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Preface

121 The objective of the present work is the anthropological study
128 of the culture and acculturation of the Guaraní Indians living in
Brazil. To be sure, it should be stressed from the outset that in
these chapters there is no pretense of describing in a detailed way
the tribal culture in its multiple material and non-material as-
pects. In order to do so, it would be necessary, not only to ex-
plore critically the very vast and rich literature on the ancient
and modern Guaraní, accumulated since the times of the Con-
quest, but also to observe in the vicinity and for a sufficient
time the variants and modalities of the culture of these Indians
in all the present-day subgroups of the tribe (within and outside
the national territory), to aim at a monographic elaboration of
the accessible data. As necessary as a contribution of this order
may be considered, it is not what is intended here. The objec-
tive of these pages, in a certain sense more modest and unpre-
tentious, in another sense perhaps less so, is to capture, by pre-
senting and discussing some fundamental aspects of the culture,
the manner in which the processes of acculturation occur in the
conflict between the Guaraní cultural configuration and diverse
forms of life inherent in or in some way linked to Western civili-
zation. Besides the ethnographic interest of the material pre-
sented, it seemed to me that this perspective is more properly
an anthropological contribution for the dynamic and functional
comprehension of the cultural processes. The aspects chosen for
analysis are presented within a fuller, general framework, in
which, in my opinion, should not be left out of consideration,
among other things, an introductory chapter on the problem of
the classification of the subgroups of the tribe and another one on
the physical characteristics of the Guaraní.

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121 Notwithstanding the insights that would be procured, the com-
 128 parison with other cultures, particularly tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní
 family, has been laid aside, save in a few exceptional cases.
 This because, instead of presenting a pluridimensional, complete,
 or exhaustive analysis of the culture, it seemed to me preferable
 to stay within a more restricted field. For this reason, I deemed
 it a good expedient to base myself principally on personal obser-
 vations, presupposing that the reader has a knowledge /6/ of the
 existing bibliographical material, at least of the more accessible
 sources. Because of the nature of the work, there would be no
 great advantage in transcribing, reproducing, or summarizing
 what is to be read in the studies of Nimuendajú and other authors,
 ancient and modern, who wrote about the many Tupí-Guaraní
 tribes. On the other hand, the sources cannot be neglected,
 whenever one finds in them any elements indispensable for com-
 prehending the main problem focused on here: the acculturation
 and concomitant detribalization of the present-day Guaraní in
 contact with foreign groups and cultures.

As I do not intend to present here a work of erudition, but
 rather an anthropological study based on the material collected
 on my travels, I thought it necessary to resist for the time being
 the temptation that arises at every step to discuss up to what point
 and in what sense my observations on this or that problem agreed
 with the other authors or not. Were it not for the position taken,
 it would have been easy to complete and augment a series of
 passages in the text, which, due to the force of circumstances,
 had to remain fragmentary. I have given up this expedient, for,
 if the essay would profit by it in one sense, it would lose in
 another one: the main objective would be sacrificed in the attempt
 at a monographic elaboration. On the other hand, the inclusion
 of a few details not very significant at first sight for an under-
 standing of the central problem of the work seemed justified to
 the extent that it did not overload the text and fitted into the
 indispensable ethnographic framework of the questions formulated.
 Authors who might want to take up the subject will perhaps find
 there the concrete elements for the examination of other aspects
 of the phenomena of conservation and change, of intragroup
 homogenization, of differentiation, and other similar matters.

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121 As far as possible, the exposition is oriented in the direction
128 of always allowing the reader to compare the characters that impress unity on the Guaraní tribal culture with the particular manifestations and the specialization of this culture within the peculiar system of each one of the subgroups or the various nuclei existing in Brazilian territory.

The methodological principle of this essay, in short, is characterized in the direction of an integrative description with regard to a knowledge of the tribal "ethos," based on a functional view of the acculturative processes. In order not to be entirely arbitrary, the choice of the aspects discussed could not be made until after a study of the culture as a whole. Strictly speaking, however, a different choice should in the final analysis reveal the same lines of Guaraní cultural dynamism. This means that the concept of fundamental aspects /7/ used here does not necessarily refer to nuclear elements or values, or to spheres of a detailed cultural elaboration, but to patterns and phenomena whose examination in conjunction with one another seems to show perhaps better than others the genuine and peculiar character of the system under appraisal. But it is also necessary to confess that a very powerful circumstantial factor also contributed to the choices: the greater or lesser consistency of the material collected in the field.

The effort spent in the elaboration sought to reconcile in some way the functionalist attitude with the typological characterization, or at least with the ideographic characterization, of the cultural configuration. In order not to lengthen the text unnecessarily, there was no attempt to make explicit some conclusions of a general nature, the direction of which the anthropologist can easily perceive from the very presentation of the elements observed. It is obvious that the way in which the data are given -- when it is not a matter of simple reporting or "anthropological empirism" -- not only presupposes a theoretical position, but is theory. And that is what one has in view when it is claimed that in a scientific work the facts "speak for themselves." To the degree that one can present them in such a way

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121 that the conjunction comes to have a signification within certain
 128 scientific premises, and that this signification is evidenced by
 the objective description itself, it seems possible to reduce the
 discussion of theories to a minimum, unless this discussion is the
 purpose of the work.

114 This study is based on research done among Indians of Guaraní
 101 idiom from different parts of Brazil. Initiated in June of 1946,
 [12] the work was extended, with many and long interruptions, almost
 to the day of publication. I made various visits to three native
 villages on the Paulista coast: Rio Branco, Bananal, and Itariri;
 furthermore, I had repeated contacts with Indians from these vil-
 lages in the cities of São Vicente and São Paulo. I have not
 been to the present village of Rio Comprido (Serra dos Ratins),
 but I met its inhabitants when they were still living in Itariri. I
 also worked in the Posto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, formerly
 Araribá, in the vicinity of the city of Bauru; and I collected
 some material among the Guaraní of Palmeirinha (Lower Iguaçu
 region in western Paraná), as well as among those of Laranjinha
 in the Xapacó region in the "far-west" of Santa Catarina. I lived
 with the Indians of the tribe, particularly the Kayová subgroup,
 in various nuclei of southern Mato Grosso: Dourados, Panambi,
 Amambai, Taquapiri, and Jacaré, the latter made up of fami-
 lies of the Nandéva subgroup. It was not possible for me to be-
 come familiar with some other equally important villages, /8/
 such as, for example, Guarita, in Rio Grande do Sul. -- Early
 this year I have visited, accompanied by Mr. León Cadogan, the
 Mbiká-Guaraní of Paso Yovai (Troyes) in eastern Paraguay.

The advantage gained from the large number of nuclei visited
 and from the frequency of the contacts in a multiplicity of situa-
 tions is counterbalanced, unfortunately, by the brief duration of
 my stays in the various settlements. The longest period of un-
 interrupted work at one single village was a stay of four weeks
 among the Indians of Dourados in July of 1950.

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122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I

[123] shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí/, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, ñanderú /religious chief among the Nandéva and Mbũá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjũ, who is txerúangã, my adoptive father), and Capitão Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

122 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D. D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

128

Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

/9/ Chapter I

The Guarani Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

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The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guarani (1)

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1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

[113]

197 Idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupi tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

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While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guarani speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Plata /Plata/, and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

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186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Nandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2).

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

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[114] the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

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101 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and non-material culture. Reference will be made to these particularities at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

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Nandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3. /From p. 22 of the original source./

Nimnuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

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4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Nandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimnuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Takyguá and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Nandéva be reserved for this subdivision.

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The Mbllá call it Txiripá í, "the 'Little Txiripá /Chiripa/'" (5).

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5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

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178 In two villages on the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) live
184 Nandéva who, in the most manifest aspects of their culture, par-
[101] ticularly in the material sphere, have adapted themselves to a
considerable extent to the patterns observed in the population of
that coastal region. Nevertheless the anthropologist has no diffi-
culty in noting, even on the first day, the persistence of a large
part of the ancient tribal values. The same is true of the Nandéva
of the village of Araribá near Baurú, where in the early part of
this century Nimuendajú for years shared the life of his "tribal
brothers." I stayed with the Nandéva of Dourados, and in the
extreme south of Mato Grosso, a few kilometers from the
Paraguayan border, I visited them in the village of Jacaré or
[114] Porto Lindo, which, according to Nimuendajú's indications,
[101] should correspond approximately to the probable point of de-
parture of the Apapokúva migrations. It is /11/ certain that the
Indians of that village dress like sertanejos /people who live in
the sertão, the remote interior of the country/, but in addition
they have not suffered very incisive influences from their present
neighbors of Portuguese and Spanish origin.

101 Mbũã /Mbya/ ("people") is the autodenomination most used by
those Guaraní known in the literature as Kaingua /Caingua/,
Kalua /Cayua/, etc., and whom the Nandéva call Tambéopé (6)

[114] 6. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is,
by the way, the denomination used by me in an
earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

("broad chiripá") or Txairũ. Naneirũ ("mine" or "our friends").
It is also not rare to find for these Indians the name Apiteré, or
Apyteré (corruptions: Apuiteré, Apiteré), which they themselves,
however, reject as depreciatory (7).

[114] 7. /From p. 22 of the original source./ It
might be of interest to recall, concerning
this name, Karl von den Steinen's observation,
when he says, referring to the fact that an Auertũ
/Aueto/ village he visited on the Upper Xingu
could be considered the central point for the

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navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kuli-schn and the Batovis. "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhugnai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mblá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mblá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mblá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Telí and Tembekú (8).

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8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1961 that the Tembekú she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekú is not an auto-denomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakirý, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

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The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of káá y yguá) varies between Kaiúá and Kajová, with the intermediate forms Kaiouá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

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9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayúá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

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101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

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10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sobre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guaraní/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Teyí (Teyí) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembukuá is not an autodenomination; I heard it principally among the Nandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

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It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá í (Nandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapitê.

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Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicú, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

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There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

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11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

101 /12 cont./
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confusion between Kayová and the Mbũã, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

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In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

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Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./
I have not infrequently noted that the Mbũã of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Nandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavante"). In turn the Nandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbũã, as we saw, Txeinã (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Uêtxã." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Nandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Nandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

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[162] In 1910 about 500 Guarani lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./

[115] One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apostamentos sobre os Guarani by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

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[361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Felo. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guarani, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Fôxo Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361] The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbila from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

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One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xipicó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine order to complete it.

Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multiplicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

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Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited. **Banana**, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Preto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquía railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, are of the Nandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

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The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

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It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guarani borders:

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Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahúva. In 1940 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

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In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among

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them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port.

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fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1946 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Jaquaré railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazendas in the Ribeirão region.

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Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 86 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

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[578] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Pernambuco and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Nandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile

[563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guarani mother. For some time a group of Mbliá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the fianderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbliá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago.

[162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them belonged to the Mbliá subgroup, except for an old Nandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village.

[563] There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them.

[186] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

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[62] Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have frequent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists, and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordinary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the village.

[184] In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/ one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious, hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Póto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of Bauru. In this nucleus live Guarani Indians (almost all of them Nandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The results are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guarani at the post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo population of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu, about seven leagues from the seat of the Póto Indígena Mangueirinha, inhabited by Kaingang Indians. The Indians of the village of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbá sub-group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons, men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

[361] Limeira, in Xapacó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbá Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others from Palmeirinha. The village -- itido, as it is called there -- made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapacó and Xapacózinho, near the confluence. I did not have the opportunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Póto Indígena/ Xapacó (of Kaingang Indians), where the men sometimes work at tillage as day laborers.

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[361] Dourados (Pósto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guarani -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Nandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.

[177] The Nandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too, the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --

[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pósto Indígena Francisco Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicué (Pósto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová and a few Nandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. --

[433] The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

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- [361] Amambai (Póto Indígena Benjamín Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-Uniño), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Nandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.
- [361] Taquapiri (Reserva Córro Peró), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Póto Indígena Benjamín Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Nuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.
- [361] Jacaré or Póto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Póto Indígena Benjamín Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Igatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are Nandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Villa Igatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be pure-Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

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648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

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000 under official protection or even administration. On the other
171 hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biological
18 substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo
population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise
to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful
anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity
of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the
one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character,
on the other.

178 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní na-
184 tion" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained
Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects.
Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the
European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the differ-
ent subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with
regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other
sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked
[797] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the
population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some
time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive
conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa-
[177] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese
or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extrac-
tive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into
situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the
[166] last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní
[177] hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the
number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing
some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with
modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of
the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for
the study of the consequences of situations of contact between
American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type.
No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four
centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

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Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

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In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the extensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (*ñanderú* among the *Ñandéva* and *Mblls*; *paí* among the *Kayová*). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

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Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

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The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Luso-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 68 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate.

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The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant discussions and enmities within the group.

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There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbila Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been

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established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Pt., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Mandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

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177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

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184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. Since the dividing line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

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[77] the similarities in the religious system and in the social organization, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on the acculturative process, go beyond the range that the differences in these and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Nandéva, Mbãã, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type. /The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

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Chapter II Physical Aspect

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"Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has already also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbã of western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements, saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of the body.

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It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will make black magic against the individual. Men and women not infrequently become so terrified during the process that their sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá, where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation, incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the Guaraní.

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In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbã, 17 men and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all 25 Nandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural anthropology.

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Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some, especially Nandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

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142 During the last war the Paulista police arrested several Mbllá as spies, /26/ thinking they were Japanese from the coast. The Mongoloid features make many appear much younger than they actually are. Individuals of the "caboclo" type are common [144] among the Nandéva, without one's being able to determine in them any degree of mixture with Caucasoid elements.

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826 The color of the skin varies on a rather broad scale between the extremes of light brown and dark brown, with bronze shading, and not a reddish one, even though the Guaraní themselves sometimes claim to be piti, i.e., red. Among the Kayová I found some with the color of dark mulattos. Light individuals exist in [551] the three subgroups, but they are more frequent among the Nandéva; the extreme case is that of the family of Joaquim Branco of the Paulista coast, who owe their Portuguese name to the color of their skin./Port. branco, "white"/. In southern Mato Grosso the Kayová give the Nandéva the name Mbaíry avá, a term for which I obtained the translation "white Indian." There is no indication that [144] the light skin is due to crossing with foreign people of Caucasoid origin. It has not been possible either for me to verify any Negroid [143] influence that would explain the very dark color of some -- In Rio Branco, the wife of a Mbllá gave birth successively to three albino children with "blue" eyes.

In any case one does not notice any uniformity in the skin color, even within the different subgroups. The Indians themselves are conscious of this: in the Mbllá village of Rio Branco I [551] met a woman with the name of "Papaídjú," with reference to her light skin, and another one called "Ni-fi," because of her dark color.

142 The hair is in general very black and smooth, but there are also individuals who have reddish chestnut and somewhat wavy hair. I have met no old people with white hair, but some, seventy or more years old, with slightly gray hair. The hairs of the beard, incidentally very sparse, begin to lighten a little earlier. The hairiness of the body is almost null.

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Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Nandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbúá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

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The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

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There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Nandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupá, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Nandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbúá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbúá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1948 under the chieftaincy of the Nanderú Miguel. Those that most cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

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184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekná, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Nandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

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[177] Among the Nandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
[184] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

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[192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mblá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odíadókúá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Nandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mblá of this region. One young Nandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-styles: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. [301]
[192] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown
[154] is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, [178] "more modern," let it grow longer.

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182 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
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142 and owing to the fact that the women have to carry on their
182 backs all the products of the plantings, while the men who work
[142] in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of Mato Grosso must carry
[482] burdens of hundreds of kilos (the cause, incidentally, of frequent
[64] hernias or "ruptures"). The development of the musculature of
[535] the legs is also due in part to the almost daily dances in which
all the members of the tribe participate.

163 The birth rate is quite high in all the Guaraní groups. In
general a woman has ten to twelve children in the course of her
life, but little more than half of them reach adulthood. There
[165] are villages in which child mortality is as high as sixty per cent.
Yet I also know an old Nandéva woman who had ten children,
eight or nine of whom reached adulthood; this, however, is an
exceptional case.

842 The Guaraní woman wants to have many children. For the
[824] purpose of facilitating conception, the Kayová women drink the
tea of a plant called membý djá ú djá; they say that it is some-
times enough for a woman to pass near this plant to become preg-
nant. There is another plant that is used to promote the concep-
tion of male children. At least the Kayová and the Nandéva pre-
fer male offspring.

842 Among the Kayová and Mbá there is said to be infanticide
845 of twins, and the strangulation of crippled children is also said to
occur. But, with respect to the Nandéva, I have noticed, for
instance, a couple with twin daughters, both alive and one of
them crippled; at Araribá I knew a Nandéva family with twin
children of the male sex. The different attitude toward twins
is based, perhaps, on the great diversity of mythical representa-
tions in this respect. In the Kayová villages and among the
[732] Nandéva of Jacaré I found dull and senseless individuals, who,
[828] incidentally, were treated with special affection. The father
[842] (Kayová) presented one of them to me as Tüpá rymbá, /29/
created by God, "that is, conceived without there having been
any sexual relations between the couple, and sent as a substitute
for an earlier child that had died.

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[535] In part the not very rational methods of raising the children are responsible for the high index of child mortality. On the occasion of journeys or celebrations, the children sleep in the open, exposed to the mist, becoming victims of grippe or pneumonia. During the dances, which extend from nightfall to the break of day, many mothers keep the infants riding on their hips, paying no attention to the violent shaking to which they expose them all night; only robust children withstand such practices. Thus cultural patterns are combined with the factors of natural selection.

515 The patterns of hygiene in force among the Guarani are very rudimentary, which naturally promotes the spread of contagious diseases of all sorts. Ordinarily one does not see the slightest pre-occupation with body cleanliness. A Mbila from Xapoco told me [828] that "the Guarani go about dirty, because they were really born to be poor." If there is a river close to the village, the young lads may once in a while take a bath, but solely for the purpose of cooling the body on a hot day or of having fun in the water. The Nandeva of the coast say that, in the opinion of the "ancients," a morning bath would give "long life," a belief that, by the way, also exists in other native populations; they remember an old man who demanded that children take a bath in the river every morning, "in order to become strong," but they confess that the Guarani of today "prefer to remain near the fire." -- The smell of sweat and smoke that characterizes them has been erroneously taken for a "racial odor."

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164 Health conditions are not good. In the coastal villages, for example, many suffer from malaria, venereal diseases, frequent [146] grippe, etc. The irregular diet and alcoholism reduce physical [733] resistance. The Kayová of Mato Grosso have been decimated by [751] tuberculosis, which readily spreads among them, not only because of the lack of cleanliness, but because of the custom of having many people eat at one time from the same dishes or cups, of preparing chicha (a beverage fermented with the aid of saliva) in large collective tubs, of not dispensing the chimarrão /a beverage made with maté/ and, above all, the tererê (a beverage of maté with cold water, taken by means of a suction tube), and, finally, by the nocturnal dances in the open air.

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by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication: tuberculosis, which they call "peet" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

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/30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P. I. Francisco Horta.

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The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

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The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now live near Bauru.

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Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Nandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

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[621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Nandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

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78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Nandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Casas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyráidjá," they say that no yvyráidjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

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177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, [829] are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

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Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

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1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

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Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toll of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, or the oyguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

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Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and religious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová village. The present-day Nandéva and Mbã live in very small dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to discover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

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The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapyiguasu (large hut) or ôga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;

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secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. costas; cf. costas, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the ôga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,

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8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. costas/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside, four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an altar, a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

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The ôga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the inclement weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

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When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.

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The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

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177 From the architectural point of view, there are two essential characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast to the cabocio dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separation or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

[192] One of the first concessions that is made to cabocio architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the cabocio habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

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178 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the cabocio type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and religious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of cabocio type more or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

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[596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

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[177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbaes in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

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345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêro Perô. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

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[552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

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342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandû-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in
fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[84] (ôga, ôy) of the present-day Mbûá and Nandéva are identical to
those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs hav-
ing two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those
of the Mbûá a little lower than those of the Nandéva. As an ex-
ception there were some open dwellings in Jacarets only one wall
and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo,
more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing
a nail. The larger ones, among the Nandéva, are divided or
semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
window. The walls (horá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a
[192] partial lining of leaves of djedjy guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[824] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djofá), which rests on small beams
[317] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjy, pindó,
[192] and djapé. Among the Nandéva the coverings of djedjy are made
[824] with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the cabocio
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of
the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
177 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of tradi-
tional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics
disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and
weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the tra-
ditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that
on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the im-
possibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-
acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally,
the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guarani
to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to
interact.

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[192] In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has practically been abandoned and replaced by the jiro or tarimba /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed, which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbã of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbã of Kariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Nandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

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[192] For the visitor the Guarani house, with very rare exceptions, has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day with the tapytá, a broom made of rosemary or xiririka. Secondly, the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on the apykã (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood, sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbã, who call it tendã): if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "egupá," sit down!

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353 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/ hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipó/ stretched in the dwelling; only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. Inside or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calendar or a print from a calendar, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

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2. Clothing

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177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guarani village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guarani is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

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177 European clothing thus gives the Guarani more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guarani has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

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515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

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291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
197 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter
months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the
Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect them-
selves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of
Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandyju inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
198 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not
been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who
wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[196] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and
other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys.
Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for
their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the tra-
ditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the
head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in
shape and provided with fringes (ipoty) on three sides. The upper
part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in
a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left,
turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior
part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all ob-
jects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains
by way of decoration.

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184 An Indian from Amanabai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with trumbé."

[192] In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéé, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéé was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toll of hunting or even of tillage.

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[115] The Kayová tambéé, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

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294 The trumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 200 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters by 10 centimeters. The wool thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçal de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katiguá in Kayová, katiguá in Nandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same informant, not only the Kayová women, but Nandéva women as well weave or wove trumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks of trumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of trumbé.

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[531] Aside from the trumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the kĩákuaahá, richly decorated with ipoty, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the trumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

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[126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.

[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipoty) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles, one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the

[283] central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it

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237 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yellow and orange toucan (tũkũ) feathers and red carindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of

[192] toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called semombáehá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imitation of the things of Nandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation

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[114] of the different names, all "given by Nandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers, called iporavohaguê. The care with which the ponchito is adorned

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798 and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the

piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

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292 in his spacious and magnificent dwelling at Panambi. Paf Vitaliano,
178 who wore it in religious ceremonies, had the appearance of a priest
778 in vestments, particularly because he always wore it together with
other pieces of the traditional Kayová garb. Anyone who saw the old
paf dressed for religious functions could not fail to notice the great
similarity with the Catholic priest: to the embroidered chasuble of
the latter corresponds the ponchito adorned with fringes and flowers
of feathers. Might one not also have there a reminiscence of
Jesuit times?

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292 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the
778 doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the
[177] ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explanation. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Nandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen
[192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pñe or pñe of the rural
[435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of
[192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovetá ragú), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinctive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who
[428] had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the
[171] Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a
[192] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from
[177] automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It
[482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders
[147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

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yerba maté (1).

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1. /From p. 44 of the original source./
This type of sandal is also used by the
Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for
example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have
disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at
Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta.
The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of
a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or
less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her
waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front
of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but

[286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse
cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of
industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing
gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

[192] Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious cere-
monies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is
understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than
that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive
longer, because they were connected with functions important for the
life of the collectivity.

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[192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any refer-
ences to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of
cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the
upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and
typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

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184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing
of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Nandéva and the Mbáá.

Among the Nandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece
of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have
seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those
of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont. /

[291] belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the
[184] other pieces I have not noticed any among the Nandéva. The women's garment, the tupái (type) which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

[291] The Mblá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort
[192] of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (hoftá) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mblá Indians of Brazil did I have an opportunity to see an original tambéu: I saw one in Paraguay, at Pao Yoval or Yrofá. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes.

[286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth,
[177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mblá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mblá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjáá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment,

[184] /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type: I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another skirt over it. In the same village a young Nandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mblá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation. /

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Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

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[229]

Although the Guarani is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbila, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapoco, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. *mundéus*/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

[177]
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1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guarani have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

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the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177 In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction
439 of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 The social disorganization that is taking place in the major
182 part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

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178 There are villages in which the predominant patterns of pro-
433 duction and consumption still allow, with relative confidence,
the reconstruction of the traditional economic organization, quite
well known, incidentally, by means of the bibliographic sources.

181 The economic efficiency of the individual does not repre-
156 sent a source of special prestige. There are two principal reasons
433 for this fact: first, the predominantly communitarian form of
production and consumption, and, in the second place, the
mystic orientation of the culture and the importance /46/ given
to communion with the supernatural. The first of these factors
[621] causes the stimulus for work to be strictly related to the intensity
of the feeling of social solidarity. Only with the progressive in-
dividualization of the economic tasks and the acceptance of the
corresponding values as elements of social differentiation is the
notion of the lazy or diligent individual and of the poor or rich
man beginning to acquire meaning for the Guarani spirit.

178 The number of native tribes in America in whose life the
433 preoccupation with the problems of the supernatural fate of man
771 has reached the importance that it has among the Guarani is
certainly small. For them the common affirmation that in
primitive cultures all facts are "universal" and that in tribal life
the economic preoccupations, like all others, are at the same
time religious is certainly valid: one notices an extraordinary
predominance of the religion in all the spheres of the culture, in-
cluding the economy, to the extent that not infrequently economic
activities appear as simply a pretext for the performance of cere-
monies for contact with the supernatural and control of the per-
sonal powers that are deemed to have an influence on the destiny
[476] of human beings. It may be a puxirio /a co-operative work party;
see below, p.66 /, the harvest of the products of the clearing, the
departure for a journey, some unexpected or uncommon phenomenon
-- in short, anything may be the motive for prayers and ritual dances.

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This is true to such an extent that the annual economic cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (3) --

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 96.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

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It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe. The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

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As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups, the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year. Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

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Thus, among the Kayová and the Nandéva of southern Mato Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year; this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

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221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduís) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the
464 months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food"
221 is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means

[434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is [245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbaes /stands of yerba maté/, inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for

177 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the
182 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the
241 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern Mato Grosso.

243 To the extent that a social and religious calendar exists, it is
296 that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is
221 only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Kemongarai, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avati-mongarai, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is
221 planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other
[71] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

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In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/

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Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Nandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

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The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto.

Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians

themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a

matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of

the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or

less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in-

heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is

considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called

Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for

making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the

kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of

August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongará is held.

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The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

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824 reason they are called, according to the group, sometimes avati
mñi, sometimes avati karapé, sometimes avati miri. Since in
the majority of the varieties the ears are elongated in comparison
with those of the hard maize, the designation avati pukú is also
used for them. Furthermore, a distinction is made indicating
the color: moroti (white), dju (yellow) or pñi (red), or para
(spotted: a mixture of yellow and black kernels).

Of all these varieties the one that stands out for ethnological
interest is the avati djakairá moroti or avati pukú moroti, with a
high stalk and white kernel, the one preferred for making chicha.
The Kayová in particular refer /Ils. I-V appear here/ /49/ to it
with noticeable respect. "This one is splendid, it does not bear
in just any ground"; it does not bear in kaá tim (open country) or
in a new clearing, only in the underwood. And it is necessary to
"bless the seed," one informant stresses. "This one is very deli-
cate," says another; "one plants the clearing and then does not
cross any more; and it is necessary to baptize the land." In
reality, the magical and ceremonial precautions are also taken
in connection with the other varieties, but, at least among the
Kayová, more importance is given to the avati djakairá moroti.

A fact also interesting for the geneticist is that the Kayová
and other Guaraní are afraid that the maize might degenerate. At
the Posto Indígena Francisco Horta I met a doctor-sorcerer of
Nandéva origin, who told me a curious theory about the subject.
It was more or less as follows: There are two varieties of the avati
pukú, moroti and pñi, the white and the red. The ancients said
that the red one grew next to the white one so that the latter would
not degenerate and would always give full-kernelled ears. The
red maize originated from the speckled one, and the latter from
the white one; it is like the sugar-cane juice, the crusts of sugar in
the boiler /Port. rapadura/, and the sugar. The red comes from
the white, in the holes that are opened, in an oblique position, in
the direction of the rising sun. One plants only white seeds, not
red or spotted ones. The red color is an effect of sunlight; the
ears become such because of the direct influence of the sun, and
they, because of their strength, make the white ones become strong

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56.]

2: Schaden--54 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
 Nandéva
 Kayová

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I. Marçal de Souza, Nandéva-Guaraní from Dourados. Teacher

and catechist at the Evangelical Mission, he collaborated with the author in the investigations of Mato Grosso.



II. Young Kayová-Guaraní mother from Dourados.

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III. Kayová-Guaraní women from Amambai, southern Mato Grosso.

2: Schaden--55 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Mbãa
Nandéva

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IV. Carrying-baskets of the Guaraní women.
1. Mbãa. 2. Nandéva.

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V. Clearing of a Nandéva-Guaraní family from
Dourados.

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[193] too. The red maize avati puki pñi, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Virgen de los Milagros," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

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[115] All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pósto Indígena Benjamín Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roái roáangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaygué, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the ñí a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñaíembo'é ñandé avati rñ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

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243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú ñandé avatí
 796 mberúre): when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
 824 ñandé avatí ñahangá): after the first food is prepared with green
 maize (djahá hovassá ñandé avatí djygué): and, finally, when
 the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djarú kévira angá
 or djahá djaporahéi kévira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
 771 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of
 corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants --
 mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita
pepo/. tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the
 "baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first
 basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, be-
 fore the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in
 order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomach-
 aches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among
 which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a
 genuine religio-economic calendar, to the extent that, as we
 have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
 262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is
 considered indispensable, especially in the months in which
 maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and
 constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this
 reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
 [177] rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
 a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the
 caíçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the
 geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
 [171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
 always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-
 Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to
 what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

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For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primitive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caçaras in recent times.

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Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kñtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kñtĩ is added mandiô py, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipiti for one night, so that the mandiôkuera drains off. The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

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4. /From p. 64 of the original source./

It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

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But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandiô-kñĩ morõĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caçaras.

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To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use of the grater.

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[178] It is in the importance assumed by mandioca flour in the alimentation of the Nandéva of the coast that we find one of the principal touches of the economic acculturation undergone by them through the contact with the shore people. Without flour they feel poor. Old Pedro Pires did not tire of asking me to send him a "forno" (a pan for making flour). They believe that flour is the best food; it is in that "that there is strength." Indeed they take it early in the morning, as coffee, throwing it into the mouth (5).

[114] 5. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Incidentally, Thévet already mentions the technique of throwing the food into the mouth, particularly mandioca flour. The caçaras of São Paulo, who also use the technique, call "capitão" /captain, chief/ the little ball of food formed with the fingers and thrown into the buccal cavity with a sure aim.

249 /52/ Among the many plants cultivated by the Guaraní, tobacco /Port. tabaco/ must be mentioned, because of its importance in daily life and above all in some rituals.

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[101] "Petiguara" ("tobacco /Port. fumo, "smoke"/ chewers") was the designation or nickname, it seems, of more than one Tupí tribe of ancient Brazil (6):

6. /From p. 64 of the original source./
See, for instance, Knivet, 1947, pp. 123-124.

the Kayová of Mato Grosso might also be called "tobacco /fumo/ eater." Not only in the religious ceremonies, but at any hour of the day or night the less acculturated Kayová makes use of the pĩrĩ gũĩ (tobacco /fumo/ powder) or pĩrĩ ñamĩĩ (tobacco /fumo/ of the forefathers). It is a tobacco /tabaco/ powder, a kind of coppee, that, instead of being sniffed, is put between the lower lip and the gum, where it remains under the action of the saliva.

324 Preparation: leaves of green tobacco /fumo/ slightly roasted on

/52 cont./

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[824] a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guajayvi,
guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called hugué; further-
more, ky 91 or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta
malagueta". native to the region, according to the information
[415] of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions
that the Calingá (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that
they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./

Apud Métraux, 1938a, p. 117.

- They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/
called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and
then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco
/fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is cer-
tainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

- The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová
than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case
they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbáá
is the pipe, pétyguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine
knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or
more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands
of his companion. Nowadays many Mbáá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (péty homimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those
with paper. Among the Nandéva of the coast I met an old woman who
made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

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[84] Among the Mbáá almost everybody smokes, including very
young children: once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjaka." Among the
Nandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good
part of the women.

249 /53/ Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukú or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takúá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvytá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an unlimited time. The technique of the Nandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which 222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the [221] guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked [199] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, [43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

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263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbílá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of mares and sticks /Port. igara/ in the forest. With mares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The mares for antas are of very thick ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small mares, no L, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the gyrá plá (an arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees), is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbílá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter, [825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

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224
[192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjañu) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized; in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

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[361] Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guarani culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

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[192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Nandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taray (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbîá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

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[192] There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbîá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópe (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaria, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the fishtraps: a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarma") when the traíra or other fish moves the

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226 bak. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast the fish on the spot (mohé é), where it is consumed. When nearby, they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mhá of Xapocó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mhá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blanket, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mhá maintain when they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

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[192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guarani have an interesting attitude toward money (pirê, peráta; pirápirê, paper money; among the Nándéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mímim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay).

The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent; there is no question of husbanding it, and no function in Guarani culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mollá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Trané /Chane/ and Txiriguano /Chiriguano/, Erlend Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapey, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batiray said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 301.

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[171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipai: litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

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178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the co-operative work, but in a pattern already modified.

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177 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, 476 and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable 829 to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already 476 revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own 171 denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirô (Kayová), puxirî (Mbâá), apaxirî (Tapirapé). Among the Nandêva of Araribá I was given the name añomooña as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairi /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./

This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1906, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

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In all the Guarani groups visited by me I obtained detailed information about the existence of the *mutirão* or *puxirão*. I repeatedly had the opportunity to attend gatherings of this kind, as in Dourados among the Nandeva and in Panambi among the Kayová. In general, one can divide the collective tasks of the Guarani into two very distinct categories: those done for a particular person and those devoted to the collectivity as such. The first case, the /58/ more frequent one, is common in the three sub-groups of the tribe and, with the advance of acculturation, tends to conform with the new economic conceptions. In some villages today not everyone will succeed in gathering together a group of companions for a day's work. "Only one who can," I was told by old Pedro Pires, Nandeva Indian of Itariri. It is necessary to have prestige and to possess food for those who come to work. Thus, the co-operative institution functions to serve individual interests, that is, for the benefit of a small group, the elementary family. Before the work patterns become individualized, their fruit ceases to be collective. "One who can" holds a *puxirão* in order to open a clearing, another for planting, another in order to build his house, and so on. Pedro Pires wanted to have a *puxirão* and did not succeed in doing so; those called on did not appear. And later he explained to me: it is difficult nowadays to have *puxirão*; food is very expensive.

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The *puxirão* should be interpreted as an expression of the solidarity of a group of neighbors or local group. How small this group is and the greater its cohesion, the easier it is to have the *puxirão*. Sometimes participation does not go beyond the radius of kinship, that is to say, two or three great-families tied to one another by consubstantial bonds.

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The "owner" of the *puxirão* (among the Mbã and Nandeva) buys meat and flour or slaughters a fattened pig /Port. *capado*/. His wife is in charge of preparing the food for the whole group, helped or not by relatives or friends, who help to carry water, grind rice, or in some other capacity.

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273 The day of puxirfo is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or caum /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the task, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirfo is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

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[184] Among the Nandéva of Dourados, where the puxirfo seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirfo, he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirfo without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirfo is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist: they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the disappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

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178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

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563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guarani live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the *puriflo* may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the *Randéva* of the village of Bananal.

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621 The second form of *puriflo* -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

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[423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old *Randéva* man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two *puriflo*s: the planting, too, was done in common, but without *puriflo*s. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

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476 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the
491 maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of
177 collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige,
he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there
is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his
lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the *puxirões* properly speaking,
this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution
inherent in the traditional culture.

476 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the
177 contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new
463 forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the *Mbôá*
439 of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and
visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself
up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or
inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days
in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other
things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente,
or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the
form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 In the *Mbôá* *puxirões* to which reference was made in the
574 last passage above there is also common cooking, each con-
tributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman
from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The
women do not take part in the *puxirão*, but participate in the
476 joint repast. To organize the *puxirão*, six to twelve liters of
574 drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow,"
273 at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and
at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the
drink they make a "society"; anyone who has money gives.

476 All this is the *puxirão* of collective interest. For those
574 that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner
162 provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and
drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who
only work with the bee," they also have *puxirões* (among the
Mbôá). "but they do not slaughter /kill/ a fattened pig." It does
not seem to be a matter of a *puxirão* properly speaking, but

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informal collaboration (10).

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10. /From p. 65 of the original source./
Among the Mbã of Paraguay they told me about having mutiões -- which they call pytyvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbã consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the pytyvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbã are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Randéva.

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A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the pytyvõ represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is so emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

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177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence
of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or
even of material conditions, which makes the old economy im-
practical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most incisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the
old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, lead-
ing to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to
find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification
based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to over-
come the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized
inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent
by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency
assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige
within the community itself and as a recourse for self-affirmation
in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process
181 /62/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
433 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this trans-
formation does not take place without causing serious disturbances
in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the in-
tegrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental
equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion
of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guarani
lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the corre-
spondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the im-
possibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this
order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all
the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient
communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the in-
dividualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

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177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
433 profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes,
instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From
the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only
(so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that
the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as
a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a
source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time
that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced
by another one.

177 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní
178 has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining
433 money in order to come into the possession of so many things
that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only
be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing
money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the
closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of
the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the
regional economy. This integration takes place through activi-
ties unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work
on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surround-
ing environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palm-
hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture
based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms,
baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and,
finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /62/
activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal
character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of
433 activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immedi-
ate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist
beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

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hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

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The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." It is post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba mate. To promote the economic "progress" of the Natives at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families;

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in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in fact perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original version, with Ill. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

CCO

2: Schaden--75 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4
Kayová

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VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambai,
spinning caraguatá fiber.

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VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-
Guaraní of Dourados.

2: Schaden--76 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
 Kayová
 Nandéva

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VIII. Kayová-Guaraní great-house of traditional type, village of Panambi, Mato Grosso.

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IX. Nandéva-Guaraní house in Jacaré, Mato Grosso, with dance area and chicla tub.

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Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

155 The Guarani child is characterized by a remarkable spirit
157 of independence. To the extent that his physical development
[858] and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the
activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable
that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated
acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the
tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the con-
flict between the generations would be practically null. As the
phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the
acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait
of the Guarani culture that shows itself constant as long as the
latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the
human personality and the notion that it develops independently
and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility
of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as
the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned,
the Guarani does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of
educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical
[859] means. Treated like adults, Guarani children are more frank and
less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age,
stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting
or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is
[857] working on some distant clearing. The little ones spend as they
please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of
the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo
or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the
atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling
of autonomy and independence /88/ which cannot but lead it to
a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

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155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no
Guarani childish culture. There are few games that are not re-
duced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbã boy
already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of
the bow and arrow (1);

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1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in
the original source./ Some bows and arrows of
childish type, acquired among the Mbã of Rio
Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia
Educativa /Chair of Educational Psychology/
(Universidade de São Paulo), are half as long
as the weapons of the adults, being made of the
same material. The bows, of biconvex cut,
are strung with embira and adorned with plait-
ing of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong
cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the
arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú)
or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which
the arrow of the adults is also made, are not
provided with barba, but display the common
feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these
childish weapons underwent a functional change,
no longer being made today for the training
of the new generation, but for commerce; many
purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of
the greater ease of transport.

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857 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early.
155 Among the Mbã of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being
hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The
Mbã of Rio Branco have adopted a game of carta, bisca /a game
(524) of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it
indiscriminantly.

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Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult activities there can be mentioned simple swings of gualimbé fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbûa of Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Nandêva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

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The extraordinary respect for personality and individual will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbûa of Xapocó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

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aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The restrictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn baby. The magic means that are put into practice during childhood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). Such usage, observed among the Nandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird. "In order to learn to walk fast" (Mt. Já of Rio Branco). As we have seen

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earlier, the Nandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morning bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.

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Among the Mibá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously the reader will not fail to note the analogy with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --

856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

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Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guarani of Dourados (both Kayová and Nandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

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828 pass over the mouth of the latter a wooden ear /Port. orelha de
 856 paca/ (yrapé), so that it does not become foul-mouthed and
 does not become accustomed to talking coarsely. /70/ They also
 856 "educate" the female children from the first days on by passing
 82 over their hands the front paw of a cutia /a kind of agouti/
 killed in hunting; it is so that the child may learn to pick up
 well sweet potatoes, cará, and other products of the earth.
 Another practice of the same Nandéva, to which the adults submit as well: a gaturamo (guyrãtã ñey), a bird that imitates the
 call of others, is killed, the body pulverized and mixed with
 tobacco powder /Port. pó de fuma/, which is chewed in order to
 learn the language of the whites with greater facility. It is a treatment similar to that of the Kayová, who attach great importance
 to a good voice for singing; this consists of gargling for many
 days with a "remedy" from the bark of a tree that I can not
 identify. Among the Kayová, a boy perhaps eight years old had a
 little leather bag of wasps (kávy) around his neck, in order to become smart (kýrẽvradjá). Kýrẽv mombyrj obó, "one who is
 smart goes far," the child explained to me.

869 The Nandéva told me that prayers are not taught to the
 children, for, being individual, they are sent directly by the deities.
 From the most tender childhood on every Nandéva participates in
 the family ceremonies and those of the whole community, thus
 learning without any effort everything that is part of the group
 patrimony; at the same time he waits to be sent his own prayer,
 which he will receive in a dream. The same is said among the
 Mbũá, where everyone knows the prayers of all his companions
 by dint of always hearing them; they are used as lullabies, and
 little children two years of age already sing them softly to themselves.
 Later they will have their revelations too. Thus the air of
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 [15] contempt with which Miguel, Mbũá Nanderú, told me: "We do
 not need money, nor any school, for God says so. A child does
 not need school, because knowledge comes from God." This

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097 } /70 cont./ This
is the mentality to which Father Franz Müller, missionary of
the Congregação do Verbo Divino /Congregation of the Divine
Word/, who worked among the Mbatá and other Paraguayan
Guaraní, also alludes to, bitterly complaining that these Indians
hold all intellectual, moral, or religious education in con-
tempt (2).

2. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Müller, 1919.

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184 } Quite different from this attitude is that of the Kayová,
among whom individual religiousness certainly is not much less
accentuated, but who also have a kind of "school," i.e., in-
struction given for months by the pai to one or more youngsters
who are destined for /71/ sacred office. -- Courses for candidates
for the priesthood also exist as well among the Nandéva.

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084 } For these, the educational problem takes on a peculiar
aspect in view of the belief in reincarnation, which does not
exist in the other subgroups of the tribe. The extraordinary af-
fection that the Nandéva dedicates to offspring is maternal and
paternal love reinforced by the idea that the children are loved
beings who return from the other world. Curt Nimuendajú has
already observed that the reborn is called "Tudjá," old one.

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822 } At Araribá the Nanderú Sebastião refers to his son Vítor: "Capitão
Emídio died. Then he went to heaven /Port. céu, "heaven, sky,
firmament"/. He returned, gave the prayer to me and -- watch
him there. It is Capitão Emídio." And so on, Bastião's oldest
son is the reincarnation of his father-in-law; a daughter, that
of his mother-in-law. No wonder that the Nandéva always give
their children a great deal of independence. And no wonder that
Bastião's eldest son, though still an adolescent, behaves like an
adult, that he discusses the same problems, that he is concerned
in the same way about the relations between the Indians and the
officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and other matters
of this nature. How is one to demand much submission and re-
serve from a child who a few years before was known to every-
body as an adult, perhaps as an old religious chief or a powerful
doctor-sorcerer? How is one to give any special importance to
the educative aspect of puberal initiation if the child, as a reborn

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858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Nandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
[172] which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[192] Jacaré I saw children playing with a toy top of cua /a clay
cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
[192] gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
[192] received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[192] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
[192] of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbáá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
871 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Nandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

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829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold
bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers
or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution inte-
grated into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not
always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of
learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official
in charge of the Posto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá com-
plained about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the
post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed.

[171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made
with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children
were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause
[171] may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the
Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an eco-
nomic efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3).

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

- the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or
focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a
few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward
and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does
not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and
easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in
order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggra-
vated with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable,
in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude.
Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking
and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few
beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri
had a very ugly fight at the local station: they tore out the poles

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15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15 Among the Guarani, whose repressive education is almost
[861] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[866] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[622] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[64] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
[179] officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
156 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
157 the Guarani to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
177 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
648 a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have
[245] seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guarani into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guarani does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 Manderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

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156 the dignitary. The Handerú Basílio used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am Handerú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[824] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[678] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[778] except in order to beg.

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2. Marriage

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Among the Nandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or, sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases, it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and does consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near her mother, likes to spend the day with her. -- Among the reasons for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.

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Among the Kayová and Nandéva of this region there are cases in which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother, will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

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584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Rapression of this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. [177]

583 Among the Mbáá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (xiirô kufi vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbáá of Xapocó, I was told that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemorated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its [585] [622]

583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [613] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbáá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the ñanderú, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 786 Kayová and ñanderú forbid premarital relations, while the Mbáá, as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguam preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

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Concerning the preferential marriage of the maternal uncle with his niece, noted for other tribes of the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family (5).

5. /From p. 84 of the original source./

As for the Tupinambá, there seems to be no doubt but that they were familiar with the avuncular marriage; the Jesuit sources above all insist on the fact, there even being a kind of mythical foundation in a text by Father Cardim concerning the Deluge: "for it is said that the waters drowned and killed all the men, and that only one of them escaped on the high point of a Janipaba /genipap tree/ with his sister, who was pregnant, and from these two was their beginning, and thus began their multiplication" (Cardim, 1929, p. 142). -- With reference to the contemporaneous Kayová, the problem of marriage with the maternal uncle was taken up by Virginia Drew Watson, 1944. See also J. B. Watson, 1962.

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I have not found any clear, credible, and unequivocal data among the Guaraní of any of the three subgroups. Information about its possibility were contradictory, which may perhaps be an indication of a pattern formerly in existence and now abandoned, or in the process of it. The fact is that the statements on the subject were made in general with little certainty, and that in reality I have found no concrete case of such a marriage. The information about this type of union in ancient times was also very vague; while some categorically denied having any knowledge of avuncular marriage, either as an institution or as a fortuitous case, others admitted it, but likewise the union of the niece with the paternal uncle. Referring to the Nandéva and Kayová, Marçal de Souza maintains that such unions are considered impossible, for one's nephews and nieces, the children of both

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582 brother and sister, would be "the same as one's children." Concerning the marriage of the nephew to an aunt, maternal or paternal, it is not allowed, according to the unanimous opinion of the informants; the Mbliá studied by Cadogan also consider it incestuous.

In contrast to what happens among the Mbliá, who deny the possibility, the Nandéva and Kayová permit marriage between parallel and cross cousins without distinction. Only the [184] Nandéva of Itariri and Bananal told me these unions were forbidden, perhaps an effect of acculturation. The aunt of my [115] informant Marçal, his father's sister, wanted her nephew to marry her daughter; she explained that in this way she wanted to avoid the marriage of the boy to a non-Guarani woman. Although in the kinship terminology brothers and sisters are identified with male and female cousins, the social cohesion among them is not /76/ very marked, as, incidentally, it is not among siblings either, whether of the one or of the other sex. This is true for the Nandéva and Kayová; among both of these one also notes that the man not infrequently shows in relation to the nieces and [604] [593] [184] nephews, both the children of his sister as well as those of his brother -- preferably of the sister, according to Marçal de Souza --, a greater affective attachment and tendency to help than with respect to his own children. Would this be some vestige of an old avuncular institution?

585 The acculturative situation of the different communities
581 that constitute the tribe is particularly evident in the ritual aspect
304 of marriage. Everything indicates that in the tribal culture there was practically no marriage ceremony in any of the subgroups, except among the Kayová, who also required, as a condition for marriage, that the boy have his lower lip pierced. This probably [115] also holds for the Mbliá. In a talk with the Indian Vicente, an [178] informant from Amambai, he said, lamenting that part of the [829] new generation already "does not know the language straight" and that nowadays many tribal companions, "patricios" /fellow countrymen/, do not have the labial orifices: "In the olden times no one married before having his lip pierced."

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[829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the fanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

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[431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

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[177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Nandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poydjú. This is his statement: [14] There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584/77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the [192] ñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not use the name ñemongarai (1). The ñanderu performs the marriage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at [192] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká [622] and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a) kanguaá (diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão, probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and [585] takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted, and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderu [622] blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom. Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women (the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of [608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom, the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this [533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held, in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking [177] any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). -- Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married [585] couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which [177] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the [192] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons [608] who have friendly relations with the couple getting married. The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among [608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not mock the Indians."

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I have not found the marriage performed by the fianderú and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbã of Xapocó already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitão, the latter in a certain way representing the authorities of the civil registry, or in the places in which there is a post, the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. In the village of Rio Branco, Alcides is the one who performs marriages at his /78/ house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

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Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Nandéva. In a nucleus of the Kayová village of Dourados, there was a man married to three women at one time; they were not related to one another. Viewed with some reprobation by the community, the bigamous men are usually lazy; the heaviest burdens of the domestic economy fall on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "rests," as they say, at the expenses of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of each a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constellation.

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An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbã, is the lack of stability of the conjugal unions. Among the Nandéva the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the fight," in the words of João Samuel, Nandéva from Bananal -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Araribá, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the post did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the woman tries to conform to the circumstances, in order not to have the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Araribá a married Indian woman, seduced by a

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887 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

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[198] Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, marriage does not today constitute a factor of inclusive importance in the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even [197] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separation of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

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581 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community, since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the relations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganization is a function of the splintering of the primitive great-family. 596
586 And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

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178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paf Chiquinho
581 (Panambi), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself
abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father; for instance: "Isidroay,"
[551] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive
[551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the pro-
tection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of
the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the
village, and the children grow up under the protection of the
mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal
relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the
[171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation,
incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the
Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child
[606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of
[691] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some
time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality; the
married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus
the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the
loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally
favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the
great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be
superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there
are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/
that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the
inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a con-
sistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition
of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica-
[829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "tríaca" /relating or

612 /80 cont./

621 lashing with ropes/ of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] him, as the Mbũá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the meshes of the net of economic relations
612 bind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 group. In other words: the local group constitutes an economic
[178] community in which in a more or less loose manner are bound
by the community of interests the different units of production
and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary
families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary
families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting
very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-
acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic
unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-
families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether
the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached),
occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as
the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and
consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least
on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental im-
portance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 great-family -- including the married couple, the married
daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation --
constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its frag-
mentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.

[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the
unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the
property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of
the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists
on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary
family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

- 59/80 cont./ But at the time
 241 of the diakirapéty, the "green maize," the first crops of the
 [612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
 [192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
 [575] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
 the chicha, and, according to the "Kayewi system," the
 "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
 to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
 [606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
 but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
 [433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
 [114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
 [476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
 stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
 from the parties/co-operative work parties/ that the chief
 of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
 592 tion. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
 but when one of the elementary families has something special
 in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
 pieces to all the others.
 867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
 parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
 girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
 brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
 home the products that are needed.
 462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
 situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
 Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
 [177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
 transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
 effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
 money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
 is a source of pecuniary means nevertheless considered indispensable
 for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
 852 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
 868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

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852 apprenticeship he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
 [858] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
 under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
 manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
 [114] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
 [593] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the vil-
 [606] lage of Taqasipiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not
 infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some
 clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
 889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
 866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
 [593] change outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
 [606] the Guarani boy in general begins to show his independence,
 working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at
 about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law,
 on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his
 593 father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
 /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
 [604] tion about finding a "legal substitute": the person more often
 indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son be-
 comes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in
 the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-
 family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás
 left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who
 lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work
 on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid
 like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts
 with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose
 married son lives with his father and, although he has his own
 clearing, is part of the same great-family.

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The bond of the daughter with her parents' family lasts much longer than that of the son: It goes on at least until her marriage. And even after she lives in her own home, the woman customarily spends a good part of the day with her mother, helping her with the domestic tasks.

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With marriage the Guarani assumes economic responsibilities that he did not know until then. Responsibilities in two senses: toward his wife, obviously, and almost always also toward his father-in-law. The economic autonomy of the elementary family is acquired little by little, that is, the new couples do not enjoy complete independence, particularly when they live in the house of the father-in-law of the husband. (It also occurs, though more rarely, that the married couple spends the first months in the house of the husband's father: in this case, only until they build their own home and are able to harvest from their own clearing.) Principally for the Kayová and Randêva the authority of the father-in-law is important: they exercise over the son-in-law (or the daughter-in-law, as the case may be) a hegemony identical with that of the fathers. To explain the relationship, a Kayová Indian woman told me: "Eira, the

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same as father." As for the economic obligations, however, I only heard references to those of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law, being reduced, as they told me, to some work on the latter's clearing. They are, besides, not very well defined obligations. Among the Kayová the newly constituted family immediately forms a distinct unit of consumption. Although the son-in-law usually lives in the house of the father-in-law for a while, the couples have separate clearings and even their own pots. The symbolic significance of the pot is interesting in this respect. The

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Kayová of Benjamin Constant told me that the young man may marry only when he is in an economic position to buy the pot. The ideas bound up with the pot correspond in a certain sense to those that in Western civilizations are sometimes bound up with the fireplace. In any case, for the Guarani too -- in this case for the Kayová -- the problem of the domestic economy is a problem of the pot. -- With time there is a more marked economic autonomy

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806 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case, everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities. The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Concerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized." The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days, for example -- it is the women who go to root up manioc.

462 The carrying basket -- ajé (Ñandéva), ajaké (Itáá), and
415 myaké (Kayová) (8) --

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8. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Miller (1954-1955) distinguishes three Guarani "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Itáá, Chiripá, and Paí. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the builders' ergology effect an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "ajaké," another that of the "ajé," and, finally, the third one that of the "myaké." From an analysis of Miller's work it is seen that the "Itáá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Itáá), while the "Paí" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word paí with the meaning of compassion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

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also agree with the shape and the denomination of the carrying baskets in the three subcultures represented in Brazil, with the remark, however, that I never heard the Kayová say pynakú, but always mynakú.

could even be given as a symbol of feminine economic activities. Repeating what has already been ascertained with reference to the women of other tribes, it might be said that the Guarani woman without her carrying basket is comparable to a soldier without a gun. And it is an important point concerning her dependence in relation to her husband, since the technique of plaiting is part of the masculine culture. Only among the Randéva of the Paulista coast have I observed women making sieves or plaiting the facing (mbopará) of bows intended for sale. The technique of making these facings, by the way, was learned by them through living with the Mbôá. It should be noted that the industrial production for commerce proceeds in a direction opposite to the original sexual division of labor; among the Mbôá, too, I saw women making embira strings for the bows intended for commerce.

Gathering firewood is a masculine task among the Kayová and Randéva, a feminine one among the Mbôá. The preparation of food falls to the woman, except in case of illness or some other impediment. In any case, however, the men know perfectly well, up to the most insignificant details, the secrets of the culinary art.

The traditional tasks of spinning and weaving, insofar as they have been preserved, are an appanage of the woman. Among the Kayová of the new generation I met women who were somewhat ashamed because they had not yet mastered these techniques. My friend Marçal de Souza, married to a civilized woman, told me that he would promise that his daughters would learn how to make trambé and other handicrafts. The majority of the women of all the villages also know the art of sewing, and it is rare to see a man handle a needle in order to mend his trousers. /84/ Anything involving personal relations with strangers preferably falls to the male element. The purchases in the nearby village, for example, are made by the men, though sometimes accompanied by the women. /The notes for Ch. V occupy the rest of p. 84 in the original source./

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Chapter VI

States of Crisis in Guaraní Life

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The social rhythm of Guaraní life stems not only from the annual "ecological cycle," but also from the regular sequence or more or less fortuitous appearance of crisis situations, which sometimes concern the group in its totality, sometimes more precisely certain persons because of the position that falls to them in the social structure. The crisis situations, because of the danger involved in them for certain elements of the community or for the whole group, demand special treatment, according to norms and rites established by tradition. In the existence of the individual birth, biological maturation, illnesses, the birth of children, and death are the principal times of crisis. For the group as a whole, special situations, such as the harvest of the first green maize, epidemics, journeys, and other events in some way disrupt the equilibrium of daily life and demand or may demand ritual measures.

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Not all crisis situations require identical precautions. The most important ones are those in which the person involved is given the special designation of (h)akú or odjéakú, being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment, which is called odjépotá; the mbéá also speak of karaguá. The conjunction of measures that the person should take is called "resguardo" /caution, defense preventive measures/ in Portuguese; in Guaraní one simply says that So-and-So is akú. Akú is the state of the father (and among the mbéá that of the mother as well) during the first days after the birth of the child, the girl during her first menstruation is akú, and, finally (among the Kayová), the boy during the days that follow the lip piercing. -- We also find the term resguardo /this word is not italicized in the original source/ in texts about the ancient Tupinambá, where it is said in "resguardo do matador" /the caution of the murderer/.

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[828] The most common of the crisis situations is the one that stems from the birth of a child. The crisis exists for the newborn baby itself as well as for the father and mother.

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[184] /96/ Prenatal precautions for the mother exist in the three subgroups, and for the father certainly among the Mbá. The former and the latter refer, in the majority at least, to the normal development of the birth and to the future of the baby. Thus, the Mbá father, as soon as the pregnancy is verified, leaves off tying anything and does not set snares for catching animals, for there would be danger of hurting the child to be born; he will not be able to eat monkey meat, because the monkey, even after it is shot, remains suspended by its own tail; and so forth. The restrictions, principally dietary, to which for her part, the future Guaraní mother must submit are similar. Pablo Vera in Paraguay told me that a pregnant woman should not become angry, because the rage would pass to the flesh, the bones, and the spirit of the child. The latter would become a bad sorcerer, *péro-avykí-á*.

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[602] The one who assists the woman in childbirth is her mother; lacking one, the mother-in-law or another old woman of the group. The Nandéva of Bananal usually call a mestizo midwife from nearby; if that is not possible, an old woman from the village helps at the birth. The family does not always have at its disposal the resources to pay a foreign midwife, who is paid in goods or even with money. Among the Kayová it happens that the husband himself acts as male midwife for his spouse. In general the presence of unnecessary persons is not allowed during the delivery, nor in the two or three days immediately following. Not infrequently the Kayová woman will withdraw to the forest in order to give birth, staying there a day or a night and a day.

When the birth takes place inside the house, the placenta is buried right there. Special care is given to the treatment of the navel. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife with the help of a splinter of *takúrf* or bamboo (*takúra*); using a scalpel, "it is ruined." In order that the navel dry up more quickly, ashes are applied as "desiccative"; the Mbá obtain them by burning pine nuts; the Kayová and Nandéva burn either horse manure or maize cobs.

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The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbíá consider her (odjéso)akní; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Nandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Nandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Nandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

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[114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

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842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846
953 Mbôá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

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[626] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

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Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guarani who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Nandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

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The *resguardo* measures to which the parents of the new-born baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual."

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It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbũã, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

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Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the *odjépotã*, at least among the Nandéva. Then there is a long list

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of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the Nandéva of Araribã I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/. informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

846 /89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to
[513] wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible.
[114] For the Mbã there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual
abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and
Nandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know
of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear in-
dispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father
and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not
[183] respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the
mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck.

[823] The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's
benefit. The Nandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should
not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not
remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong."

[784] And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should
avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron imple-
[184] ments. (Among the Mbã the woman is allowed to sew during
the period of resguardo.)

846 The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá:
825 that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who
"give the odjépotá" are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other
beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which
psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbol-
ism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not re-
specting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in
childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The
first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts
him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from
Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man re-
mains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

846 Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among
825 the Nandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the
793 observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú
(queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful
woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst
of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

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846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.

[881] The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
846 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
178 brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it
is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until
the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they
stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take
the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating
girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject
rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.

846 Among the Nandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her
puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal,"
[826] odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other
human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the trans-
ference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous
change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová
maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[609] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
[304] ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
lip. The Nandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[178] Mibla do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.
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It is much easier to obtain information about the observances
that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element.
While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound
religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced
to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis,
in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

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881 the supernatural dangers stemming from such a delicate state. When
 (582) it takes place, the boys' initiation, a collective ceremony that
 (561) represents the ascension of a new age-stratum to the category of
 the marriageable, arouses the interest of the whole community.
 To be sure, that of the girl is an individual event, and, because
 of that, of much more restricted social importance, which is the
 reason that the ceremonial pageantry is considered dispensable.
 Furthermore, it can be said that the Guaraní culture is of markedly
 masculine orientation. The religion is, not exclusively, but pre-
 dominantly, in the hands of the men, and it is through that that
 (771) the dominant aspects of the cultural ethos are more manifestly and
 perceptibly expressed. It is therefore understandable that the
 (561) things bound up with the masculine world, among them the
 initiation of the boys, merit more social interest or participation --
 in spite of there not being (from the social and cultural points of
 view) a rigorous division between age strata, as we have seen above.

881 /91/ Why is it necessary to surround the girl with special care
 during her first menstrual period? She is on the brink of a new
 biological phase, and, just as on the occasion of her birth her
 father (and mother) must substitutively abstain from certain foods
 and activities in order that the newborn child may be able to
 survive, now the girl, through the resguardo, defends herself from
 the misfortunes that the new condition could bring upon her. The
 puberal resguardo should not be interpreted only in the sense of
 "rite" for the social "recognition" of biological maturity and sub-
 sequent possibility of marriage.

There is no doubt but that the first menses are regarded as the
 event responsible for the most delicate manifestation of crisis in
 the life of the Guaraní woman. In the three subdivisions of the group
 the puberal eclosion is regarded as surrounded by the gravest dangers.

Both for the state of the menstruating girl and for the period
 of resguardo to which she is subjected, the Guaraní use the designation
semondýia. Aside from this term, there is also used the
 denomination odjekóakú, generic, by the way, for the principal
 crisis states of the individual that require resguardo.

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881 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent
302 is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it
301 covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits
and in particular the odjépotá (1).

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1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Nandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmiguá and tetýmikuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmiguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

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considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapocó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-asó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

881 During the days of menstruation the Nandéva girl repeatedly washes
[751] her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have
[324] headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. In any case, however, the Mbã take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvydjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

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237 In front of the hammock or the board bed, the father or brother lights a little fire for light and warmth, or else a small candle of iraity (wax of wild bees), since in the dark there would be danger of odjépotá. An old Nandéva woman told me that when she "passed from one age to another" the resguardo was so rigorous that she was not even allowed to blow up the fire that was lighted in her cubicle at night; it fell to the brother to take care of it.

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184 When she goes out to satisfy a need, the girl should have her head and body wrapped in a cloth; she does not go very far from the house and, at least among the Nandéva, is accompanied by her mother. Among the Mbüá she goes out alone, but looking only at the ground and walking quickly.

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243 The essential part is that the menstruating girl nourish herself only on "chosen food" and in small quantity, besides being insipid or prepared with little salt. Aside from the principal food, small fish or birds ("light meat"), she is given sweet potatoes, beiju (mbeiljü) /a paste made with manioc flour/, chicha, etc; the father, brother, or some cousin takes it upon himself to get the birds or catch the fish for the "patient."

[84] It is necessary above all to avoid the meat of game: deer, anta, paca, queixada /white-lipped peccary/, catêto /collared peccary/. Tatu, so they tell me, is allowed among the Nandéva and prohibited among the Mbüá. Even the meat of some birds is prohibited: baltaca, among the Mbüá; baltaca, juriti, inhambu, and jacu among the Nandéva. The latter enumerate further among the restrictions: beans (except pole beans), coffee, pork and beef, as well as fats. The non-observance is bound up with negative consequences for the health. Thus, the Mbüá say that the peccary would give tapeworms, while parrot and tatu would give "crazy head." The Nandéva, in turn, insist on the danger of epilepsy ("attack," E-ô-ô) for the girl (and for her future children, according to Poýdjü of Araribá) who does not abstain from game, and they believe that baltaca and juriti would cause heavy bleeding during menstruation. The meat of deer in particular is responsible for the "attacks," in the opinion of both the Nandéva and the Kayová. The use of inhambu meat, the Nandéva say,

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881 would cause the girl to have weak eyesight. The oldest Nandéva
262 woman of Baanal told me that she owed the possession of still
753 good teeth to the fact of having finished the resguardo without salt.
[263] At Araribá, too, they told me that the menstruating girl should
avoid salt, in order not to lose her teeth early. The Mbáá believe
that the girl would become very thin if she ate salted foods.

881 In the opinion of the Nandéva and Kayová the greatest danger
82 that hangs over the menstruating girl is that of the odjépetá. "The
one who gives the odjépetá /92/ to the girl," an Indian from
Araribá told me, is the harupá or Arco da Velha /rainbow/,
which to her "appears as a person in order to make her lose her
senses; then she becomes pale, pale, until she dies." Another
informant at Dourados told me that the girl should not look at any
boy, in order not to be the victim of enchantment, nor at the
countryside, for she would be enchanted by the animals, who would
become stirred up because of her. Among the Nandéva of Pôrto
Lindo I heard the explanation that the seclusion itself is done in
order to prevent the odjépetá on the part of the animals, par-
ticularly the jaguar, deer, and anta.

[776] The Mbáá do not allow the girl to walk in the forest, in
order not to be the victim of snakes or the yvyrádjá (spirit of the
trees), they do not let her cross a river, so as not to be caught by
the ydjá ("spirit of the waters), or touch some stone, because of
the itadjá (spirit of the stone). I have the impression that the
animism expressed in these beliefs is a peculiarity of the Mbáá,
for I have not encountered it in any of the other subgroups of the
tribe. It seems to approximate, however, the beliefs recorded among
[184] the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (3).

[171] the Tenetehára of northern Brazil (3).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Wagley and Galvão, 1949, passim.

881 During the intermediate weeks between the first and second menses,
882 the girl stays at home or in the immediate vicinity, but without the
178 rigor of the observances that gave strength during the days of the
crisis. The Nandéva say that in olden times the girl "let herself be
kept in" the whole month, until the end of the second menstra-
tion, but nowadays it is no longer so, "because of the national girls."

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991 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
 992 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
 [151] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
 841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
 882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
 152 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
 the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
 184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
 881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
 882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
 so forth.

The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
 868 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
 881 only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
 stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself "it is in order to
 learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
 elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
 cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
 to make akanguá (diadems), djestaá, mbarahí. But /94/ nat-
 urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
 [603] the Mbáá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
 paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
 123 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
 1881 what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
 [840] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
 natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
 of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Nandéva.

881 Nowadays the Nandéva men do not use tambetá (labial orna-
 178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
 [301] able that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
 it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
 resent Tupá with a luminous tambetá. Nowadays, however, they

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881 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence.
198 Only in the village of Jacaré have I had information that the boy,
881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not
825 to be the victim of odjépetá and so that there will not be incarnated
in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar,
etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the
boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo
of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani-
mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn
the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks
in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

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The Mbá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not
seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general.
In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-
sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish
the practice: he is supposed to have explained his attitude by say-
ing that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

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The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn
(but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not
necessarily done by the fandoré. Any man of the village can
perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-stem. It is preferred,
however, that all the boys of prepubertal age (about ten years old)
existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any
person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the
occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjéhiaké,

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and the wound is only treated with peanut /Pest. cone/ oil (ynatrim).
/94/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously
passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of
his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has
been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills --
so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of
Pablo Vera of Yrofé. In Rio Branco the Indian Kará or Marcelino
Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series
of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education").
[115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

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881 do not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do
862 not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not
577 drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do
not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

2. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1946c, p. 102.

[78] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying
the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community
in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of
862 the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not
829 only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebra-
tion is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Never-
theless, in the nuclei of southern Meso Gwoko the celebration
(called there *kumuf-pépi*, or *kumuf-piáa*, hybrid form) is
doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant
new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were
[114] obtained principally in the village of Amambal.

[754] It is the *Bandéri* (pat) or doctor-woman who decides on
holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period,
the community would be the victim of misfortune. The common
[304] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to
[56] the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between
8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver-
[628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring vil-
lages gather together.

[243] In general the *kumuf-pépi* coincides in the respective year
with the maize celebration, *avati-mungwa* (ceremonial harvesting
of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that
[561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to
be about ten boys of the age indicated; those who are more than
twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there
are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year
[262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially
certain game, preferably restricting themselves with chicks.

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May,

[782] /76/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicars of Amanahat.

[756] Preliminarily the Sanders chooses and teaches the lutai, "the chief of the kids" /Pon. chate des gars"/, who subsequently

[712] stays with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called humani peraki. The boys "in regardance" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (nephilaki) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the Sanders orders") and after the ceremony, the reguard continues until the wound is healed, "until the Sanders lets them go. It is the Sanders who should know." The boy that does not in regardance /guard himself/ with enough care, "picks up badly," that is, "he has illness." The reguard, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy overindulges himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding manihota flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 94 of the original source./

As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of the Pacific there is the belief that, after they pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially manihota flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Canfield Latta Canfield.)

[309] [262] [752] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[752] [704] [522] [309] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

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The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremony. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

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The kanam-papi is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

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The first refers to the Samangy, the black dye of yryrany (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yryrany, that is, an effluent entering the bander or pal.

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The second prayer refers to the yryrany, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yryrany also has the office of plucker -- the bander only gives orders -- he is seated on the apya, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apya, on which is put first the /vi/ "chief of the kids," or hultra, then in turn the others (called the trajá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apya to the right and left. The plucker always stays on the same apya; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yryrany, who stands beside the plucker, puts a tumbetá-urito in the newly opened orifice.

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The third prayer refers to the tumbetá (Sp)

5. /From p. 18 of the original source./

The tumbetá, meaning in general 8 to 12 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tumbetá-j (also called uhary; in Portuguese: par-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tambori, one makes lamp-
shaped cuts in the bark of the po-viden,
fastening under them a fine tube of tabury
(a suitable tape because of having quite
long sections), into which the resin runs for
about two days. One or two days after that,
when the resin has hardened, the tape is
broken away, the tambori is smoothed with
lira-de-mata /polder-from-the-forest/
(ambid-j, a tree with rough leaves), the lower
tip is fixed with a knife, a stone splinter, or
shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin
is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the aprit; the fifth, finally, to the act of
taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to
take him to the center of the village place, where the ceremony
is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who
have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which
the crude state of these being initiated resembles one of the corvade.
Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are sub-
jected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit,
but above all for that of the newborn baby, the Bandari who
directs the bandari-papi, as well as the yevdiki who help him,
are bound by the regards until the boys are healed. They do
not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold
of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to main-
tain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed,
because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual regards
mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tibetan period.

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[874] Captain Alberto of the Kayoré village of Amambé told me that the umbere is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery; he is more "suspicious" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-male personality among the Kayoré. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "Inception of the nation," gwal-gwal-gwal-gwal. According to the information of Isidoro de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-labialized boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremony. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 87-88 in the original notes./

/VII/

Chapter VII

The Hierarchy of the Community

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[873] Bureh has contemporaneously General society managed to combine an organization of some type: in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional persons, the political hierarchy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-woman. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-families, gathered in council, form a sort of informal senate, of consultative and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day General of Brazil, any great authority based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, as
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least formally, in the hands of the captain, chief, leader of the village, appointed by the *Sevizio de Príncipe* and *Indio*. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

The name *Indio* (1)

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1. /The name for Ch. VI appears on pp. 118-119 in the original source. / There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination *Indio*, with which the Kayoré also designate the religious chief, although they likewise use the term *Indio*, is etymologically linked to *Indio*. This was the name for the French among the Tapirindé of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tapir tribes. As a mythological figure, *Indio* is the companion or "counter-part" of *Indio* in the Tapirindé traditions (see, for instance, *Archives*, 1911, p. 107). Before is the civilian hero of the *Parlatória* of *Aracatia* (Mons. Pereira, 1940). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of *Tristão da Cunha*: "*Indio*, a name for the French among the Tapir of Brazil. The *Guarani* of Paraguay called the Spanish -- *Indio*. The two words *Indio* and *Indio* are contracted forms of *Indio-ya*, which expresses -- the one apart, the military one, the one who lives for every. From *Indio-ya* comes *Indio*, *Indio*, *Indio*, *Indio*. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they killed them, because of their superiority, to their own

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severest, called pajé or carabán, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forest, in the caves of the distant mountains." --

The replacement of mbaf by the form paf should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of parahí by mborahí, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians.

Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupí tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer here kaíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1940, p. 100, note 7). And the Tupinambá of the island of Marabão, who used paf to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1943, p. 58, passim.) The use of paf as a designation for doctor-severest has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Ruggenbach, 1951, pp. 129-131.

- [78] given to the "prayer-man" / "mandé" /, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a mandé the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Kparahí, solar divinity, also called mandé by the mandé and mbíá. The latter also called the spiritual leader mandé-ritáá ("our chief").
- [629] a term with which the capicó is likewise designated. In the
- [194] these subgroups the mandé is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvítáá.

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Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not cures, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great cures are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

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"In former times -- says Nimsendañú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (X).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimsendañú, 1914, p. 337.

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And when the religious needs demand it, the Ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the Ñanderú the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbáá of eastern Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to by Father Miller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities.

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[123] courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
[114] tained in the office so long as he does not displease the com-
[624] munity (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Miller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary
chieftaincy. Montoya writes: "Ordinarily designated for the posi-
tion of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead
chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimueñdajú refers to the "legitimate" capitfo, who inherited the
office: the table of the Honorio family, organized by this author,
clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitfo in
concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimueñdajú, 1954, between pages 52
and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitfo, recognized and con-
firmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamin Constant, Capitfo Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could
depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected
because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because
he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punish-
ing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his

624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
[114] the Nandéva of Jacaré I attended an informal session of the senate,
[623] in which the capitfo did not participate (perhaps accidentally)
and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the
economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of
the vicinity.

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[577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Nandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvixá naiporfi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

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555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its Nanderu, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village; the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekmaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

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177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

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624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish
the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of
alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the banderú or pai can exert his authority even against
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of
affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension,
which is manifested in the relations between the group and the
official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the
banderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent
concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the banderú
as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission.
On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in
charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view.
To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the ma-
terial interests of the group, always threatened by the white man,
and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the
one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his co-
operation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows
clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[554] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the
possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming
to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion,
whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and
the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic
little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except
what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious
orientation of the community.

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624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the fanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the fanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than

622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less imbued with the
156 Guarani mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
[115] he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

/103 cont./ It is therefore

624 not surprising that many Guarani do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to
take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the
security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guarani who re-
fused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission
from the mburuvitá (or ñanderúvitá, as the Mbüá also call
him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the
village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, in-
asmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two,
or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not neces-
sarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitá.
[536] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[486] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one
notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the
functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of
contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend
the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is
Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems
to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exer-
cises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example,
who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother
of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of
religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco;
it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

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622 Such a situation shows that the Mbã do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the
needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The re-
ligious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there
with the administration of the family group. As we have already
seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[177] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of
[648] the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio. Where, as in
Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão
properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel
with the flanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to
learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority
lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guarani.
[114] When I visited the Mbã at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow
about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed
to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me,
"it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be flanderú or at least
[622] yvyrádjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions
obeyed the flanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of
migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the de-
parture for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá
[622] is Manequinho or Poydjú, appointed several decades ago; but the
religious chief, flanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was
almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one
who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
[184] the solution of the Mbã of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães
/plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of
the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The
civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts
from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

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624 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to
554 work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated
622 or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do
554 not have a very well developed economic sense; I know only one
756 Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material ad-
vantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon
Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí
less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with excep-
tional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians,
mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from
[435] distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per
[465] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by
[171] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from
[184] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the
curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the
Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch.
VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

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Chapter VIII

Fundamental Elements of the Religion and of the Con-
ception of the World

1. General characterization of the Guarani religion con-
fronted by Christianity

In the anthropological study of the religion, in the sense that this is being attempted here, one is not as interested in describing the religious system as in determining the connections and influences that tie human existence, individual and collective, to a certain interpretation of the supernatural, that is, in what way the religion is shown to be responsible for certain characteristics of other cultural spheres and for the formation of dominant traits of the personality.

A fundamental element of all religion is the appraising attitude in confronting earthly life with reference to the destiny of man. Religious systems differ from one another primarily in the way that their doctrines diverge in the interpretation of human existence, an interpretation that is connected with the nature attributed to the gods and the different categories of supernatural beings, with the manner in which the origin of human life is conceived and, in particular, in which the multiple relations between man and the divinities are viewed in the most varied situations of the existence of the group and of the individual.

Religion, the domain of the "sacred," is not infrequently confused with magic and with morality. In fact, there are many points of contact among these three categories of the socio-cultural reality, which, nevertheless, differ radically from one another on a theoretical plane, although in some way they always appear interdependent. One of the essential characteristics of morality is the appraisal of human actions, including feelings and thoughts; it is the notion of good and evil. For its part, what distinguishes the magical rite from the religious ceremony is -- as Max Weber and others have very well shown -- their /108/ nature of "technique"; the religious attitude and life,

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on the other hand, are set much more in the emotional sphere, where the individual recognizes his dependence in the face of powers, personal or not, that are superior to him (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./ Having been discussed innumerable times by anthropologists of the most varied orientations, this subject is too general to be taken up again here. Everything is summed up in the possibility of finding theoretically valid criteria of distinction between magic, religion, and morality -- although it is recognized beforehand that we do not have at our disposal satisfactory means of analysis in order to establish the dividing lines in the treatment of concrete material. With reference to the problem, we find particularly promising perspectives in the article by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1943, as well as in some works by Ed. A. Jensen (1949a, b, 1950).

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577 Why is there always a close relationship between the religious domain and the moral one? Is it because human actions -- good or bad -- are regarded as having a direct influence on human destiny -- happy or unhappy --, an influence that may come about in two ways. First, simply as natural causality: bad actions bring about final disgrace, just as any poisonous substance may cause sickness or death. Or then, in the second place, there may be the idea of actions good or bad (metaphysically), stemming from the free will of the individual: they are judged by a deity, that is to say, considered in relation to certain values.

577 The Guarani distinguishes good and bad actions, good and bad individuals, but in his original doctrine he does not recognize moral responsibility, except vaguely. The individual is good or bad by nature, as by "fate." There is not really free will, because the "genius," the natural disposition, the innate qualities, oblige him to act in a certain way. A typical

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577 example: João Samuel, a Nandêva of impulsive character
(Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad
577 nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers
828 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
775 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are
no sanctions, punishment or condemnation; prize or reward --
what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit"
or anguery of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of
everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very
special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do
not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven,
firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" be-
havior, it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they
are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life
on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn
heaven, i. e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which
will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn
heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There
is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one
tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not
too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul
does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on
the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
797 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine
and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed
a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possi-
ble the direction and the range of the transformations brought by
the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out
to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinter-
pretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent
the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

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manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils. Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore, mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the Guarani religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned -- according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the Guarani religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional cases (Nandéva of Jacaré), any direct connection between free will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guarani hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his liberty, which he prizes above all (2).

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2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Miller, who worked among the Guarani of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life: it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

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to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us." -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo "Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good." Miller, 1919.

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Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omnipotent, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

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771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
182 under which they proceeded, the religious socialization of the
797 Guarani at the time of the missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really
was a conversion, even though secondary, after the expulsion
of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a synthetic
whole through the encounter of points of contact (*religions* of Chris-
tianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of
the life of the Guarani toward the problems of the beyond),
while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic
indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without
their religious significance being apprehended at the same time,
for which reason different functions fall to them, whether magi-
cal, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

721 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guarani religion of the groups now existing in
Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual,
is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village,
from one doctor-schaman to another, even among the representa-
tives of the same group. The systematization of the elements
would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The
divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup,
this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a
way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal
religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seems
to be two causes for this

721 First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
184 of the Guarani religion. Outstanding though the social importance
of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious sig-
nificance of the principal manifestations of the community existence
may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of
the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances
a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving
consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the
protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experi-
ences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his
personality.

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personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretative system, with more or less "intentional" innovations or "alterations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to Lohr
Cologne, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mithä of Pringsap, there is a sensible rigidity and uniformity in the conception of the private, secret doctrine of the doctor-scholars, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

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[52] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migration, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even as far as the three subgroups.

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121 1. The theory of corruption and rejuvenation and the action of soul

According to General doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the General conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

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182 On the other hand, the action of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning corruption.

(171) The ideas concerning the connection existing between corruption and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being justified for the devotees probably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by shamanism of

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many other regions of the globe (2).

3. /From p. 148 of the original source./ "...
In more primitive tribes, such as, for example,
the Australian aborigines, it is the man who
conceives the child, dreaming about it and
telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way
a child is occasionally born to them, for which
the women only perform the function of birthers,
hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the
past games of the husband" (Montagu, 1939).
And then many examples.

942 According to Peigle from America, everywhere many families already
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believe that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
belief is that they are not by fatherhood and motherhood,"
but there is also always recognized -- in this case -- the need
for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary
simply because fatherhood wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
942 child is not by the father. The father conceives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
171 the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
174 because the mother (and) had already been looking for the
174 woman in order to be born or raised by her. The woman, too,
may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a
boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he
comes from fatherhood and motherhood to the father. The
male child is a child of the father, the female /122/ one is of
942 the mother. This is spite of the fact that within the structure
946 of the family conjugality is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 lateral and that the father, for example, is subject to conception
even when a daughter is born to him (3).

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4. /From p. 148 of the original source./ In
spite of the different impression gained by the

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reading of several sources concerning the Tupacambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Posthumus (known as Alphonse de Salins), according to which passages the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in status, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. *Apud Mémoires*, 1208 b, p. 177. It is true that Godeau (1884, p. 82) is too often in the anthropological conception of children of both sexes.

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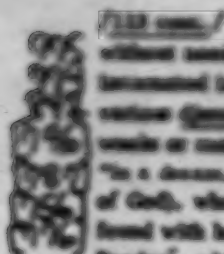
Pejé's sister was had died. Later the other two also died. Pejé became very old and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "Oh, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Pejé's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Arkamé (Mimamé's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Pejé opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Pejé took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the neighborhood. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall see them!' And she took her basket and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

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592 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Chulita Sandoz and Minnie Sandoz. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
Sandoz said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'listen' to, but
sometimes I dreamed. Now I do not desire any more." Before
this Pejeje, as he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Pejeje's wife, called Takajuek,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visit, Pejeje's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Arkanje. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's reports: saying first that the children are sent by
542 Sandoz and Sandoz, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dreams: some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Pejeje's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the soul /112/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayer, parajit, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

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233 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
Fernando Tapati, religious chief of the Sanctuary village of
Jacaré, is summarized as follows: Sanctuary ("Our Lord") can
send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, Sanctuary ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.



[113 cont.]
without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not re-
incarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to
certain quacks (religious doctors) being performed to this end,
weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the Bandak,
"in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tyghil (father
of God), who then gathers together all the children who are
bound with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the
Bandak, who can bring the same one or another one, even of
different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Bandak's theory of re-
incarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the con-
tinuity between the past generations and the future ones (15).

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8. /From pp. 148-150 of the original source./
Although the comparative study of the General
culture with those of other tribal populations is
not included among the objectives of this essay,
it is necessary to make an exception with regard
to this point in order to cite a passage that shows
the profound similarity of the General doctrine
of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of
Comrade Gail. "The manner in which they
talked to children seemed very enigmatic.
Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson)
would hear an Eskimo woman address her own
child of male sex by the name "grandmother."
On another occasion she called another woman's
child "father." This is derived from a curious
belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of
the female or male sex) dies in the village, the
soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the
air for a while, without a body, and in hope of
beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the
birth of the first little child, it is immediately
possessed by the soul that had lost its body
through death. The baby receives the name,

[113 cont.]

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of the dead man or woman, and the network of kinship relations previously belonging to the one who died is recognized as belonging to this one. -- Such a parasitical state lasts only during the years of childhood. Little by little the new boy or the new girl acquires a new personality, which is one's own during one's life. He or she receives an own name, being classified, as regards kinship, according to the new fact. After this no one seems to be concerned any longer about the soul or personality of the dead person. His career as a distinct being is as though ended and closed. He does not need to have a separate existence, because the time of life is passed on from one hand to another, and the previous hand can withdraw to non-being, without disturbance and without prejudice." Dodge, 1948. It is a summary and rather good interpretation of what one reads on pp. 385-403 of Hoffmann, 1951.

775 Alongside those who believe that there are children with souls
774 that have never been on the earth (like Pojéjé, who also admits
842 the hypothesis that not all persons are reborn, and a quasi heretic,
the Randerú Fernando Tapari of Jacaré, who only recognizes the
rebirth of children, but not of adults), there are those who are
more radical, who insist (as the Randerú Bastillo of Aracibá does)
that every person is the bearer of a "reincarnated spirit" and that
[182] all "spirits" have already lived on this earth. Thus another im-
portant function is strengthened, that of the continual communion
between this world and the Beyond, which for the Guaraní mind
constitute one indiscernible whole.

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842 Among the Mbôá, as far as I have been able to uncover
775 it, the theory of conception is practically identical to that of
184 the Nanderú, with only one important difference, that of not
admitting the rebirth of dead people, whether children or
adults. "If he did not like it, if he did not become accustomed
to the forest, to earth, he went back," as an informant from the
village of Rio Branco expressed himself. "It is not in order to
return any more; when one goes up, another one comes down."
[776] It is God, Nanderú, who sends the children; nevertheless, the fe-
male children "come" from the mother; the male ones from the
father (6).

6. /From p. 150 of the original source./ Con-
cerning the theory of conception and the notion
of the human soul among the Mbôá of eastern
Paraguay, extraordinarily valuable material is
found in the book Ayvu Rapyta, by León Cadogan,
São Paulo, 1969. It is a very rich source for the
study of the mythology, the religion and the so-
cial organization of the Mbôá. The work offers
many new points of support for again taking up
the comparative study of the subgroups of the
tribe -- including a large part of the questions
touched on in the present essay.

77 The Kayová, according to the teachings of Paí José
842 Bourbon and other experts, tie conception to the idea of
164 djasukávy, some /114/ sort of philosophical principle through
which the religion of these Guaraní explains the origin of all
things. The djasukávy is not a person, is not a god, but a prin-
ciple of emanation. From the djasukávy spring all the gods and
humanity itself. Such a mythical notion -- almost spontaneous
generation -- dispenses on the one hand, and in the conjunction
of collective representations, with the myth of the creation of the
first men and, on the other hand (like all genuinely mythical
ideas), has the exemplary function applicable to concrete and
isolated cases, that is, to each appearance of a human embryo.

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77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavytã --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the
Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytã)
are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come
mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukýtétã, lo-
cated in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies
returns to the yrukýtétã; it may be reincarnated, being reborn
by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death
of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor
would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are
thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always
strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Nandéva doctor-sorcerers,
756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacaré, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guarani doctrine with
whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human
soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted preemptorily that
man has only one soul, ñanéẽ (gnẽ), which is in the chest.
Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-
Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Nandéva, for
whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed
of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belong-
ing to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one
hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the
Guarani and much less to the Nandéva subgroup, for it has been
reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
177 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
777 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be
accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the mis-
sionaries did not teach the Guarani that a man is the bearer of
two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant
opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

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that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Nandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

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The fact that some Nandéva talk about three souls instead of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñani ñi, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (syvú-knê-porivê) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yvây), located above the yvâsomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéy (in life, avýyguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (ñanderú Sebastião), it is called avyú(knê) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 150 of the original source./
Poýdjú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called okáña ñi vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the saci /see p. 201 f./." Poýdjú accepted the rectification.

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admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ãanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

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Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears someone say ñeê, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.

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The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communication is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Nandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

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The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what

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has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

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825 or some other nice bird; bad persons, that of a venomous snake;
violent ones, that of a wasp; indolent ones, that of a caterpillar
(mando rová); roguish ones, that of a monkey. While the seat
of the fleé or ayvú is the chest; that of the atsýyguá is the lower
part of the face, including the jaws, but particularly the bucal
region. The similarity with this or that animal, which some-
times is believed to be found in the shape of the mouth of this or
that fellow villager, is an expression of his atsýyguá (8).

8. /From p. 150 of the original source./
"On the other hand," writes Nímuendajú,
"I know a young woman from the horde of
the Oguauvá, called Potá; she is quick
and a little mischievous, and it is considered
proven that she is the bearer of the acyigua
of a sai. This is because once, when Potá
was little, an old doctor-sorcereress, highly
competent in these matters, heard the char-
acteristic whistle of that species of monkey
coming from her neck, the seat of the
acyigua" (Nímuendajú, 1914, p. 305). Such
a doctrine concerning the seat of the atsýyguá,
which is not in accordance with the data col-
lected by me, perhaps agrees better with cer-
tain beliefs of the ancient Tupinambá.

[262] What a person eats also nourishes the atsýyguá. Thus the desire that
sometimes comes over us to eat a certain dish -- sometimes fish,
sometimes beef or pork, sometimes chicken -- is considered a
manifestation of the animal soul.

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[775] Not only the fleé or ayvú, which is given by Nanderú and
which after death returns to him, but also the atsýyguá "come
already at birth," according to the words of the Nanderú Sebastião,
"but in the children it is still very small"; it only exists as germ (9).

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148)

9. /From pp. 150-151 of the original source./
Poydjú, although he supports the theory of the

/116 cont./

/footnote 9 cont./

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three souls in every human being, has heretical ideas regarding the atsýyguá. For him all are bearers of ayvú, but not all are bearers of atsýyguá; and he does not admit the Portuguese word "alma" /soul/ to designate it. "Only bad people have it, it is their badness." If someone arrogantly comes to quarrel with me, and if after a while I get sick, it is said "Aé yatsýyguama," it was he who did harm. By

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means of a "little blessing" /Port. "benzinho"/ the ñanderú can get rid of the atsýyguá. --

This interpretation, in which the Catholic will immediately perceive an analogy to the absolution from sins, is not endorsed by the Ñandéva most versed in the orthodox doctrine, insofar as it is possible to use this expression. Marçal, for example, told me: "The ñanderú cannot take away the atsýyguá, because then the person would die." And he told of the case of a child that cried all the time and did not want to suck. The ñanderú prescribed to the mother that she should hang around the child's neck the beak of a parrot (parakáu); this beak blocked the view of the mother's atsýyguá, which was a snake coiled up in her breast. -- What can be taken

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away are the prayers sent by the atsýyguá, when already transformed into the anguery. The soul, which after death remains wandering over the ground (anguery, shade /Port. sombrão/), "the ñanderú Sebastião explained to me,

"sometimes also gives a prayer, but it is not good; the person should not take the prayer otherwise he remains changed and talks non-

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sense." João Américo of Itariri, when he was living at Araribá, "caught" one of these prayers, became half crazy, and fell ill. Sebastião,

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774 early one morning (around four o'clock; he
828 told me that this is the hour when the spirits
755 usually come in contact with men), went to
his house and "took away" the prayer from him.
The next morning he already sharpened his hoe
and went to work. In the process of "taking away"
[756] the bad prayer, the flanderu is helped by the
[624] yvyrárdjá; the women strike the takúapú; the
flanderu only gives the order to take the prayer
away; then the spirits of the yvyrárdjá take the
bad spirit and send it where it came from. --
774 The syvú and the syvúporãvê send prayers too,
828 but good ones. More will be said about the
prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary
to note the pure and simple identification of the
"bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable
root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5
/see p. 140/.

because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to
the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the
atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced
by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed;
774 those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most
775 dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into
828 anguery. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted,
[825] is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal,
macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/. dog, cat, "ugly
people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that,
775 to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguery that is some-
times heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice.
It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed.
It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see
it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours:
more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it
returns to its place in the cemetery. Anquery oguatá pýtũmbyté

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725 oó dyṽỹ vỹṽkuarendápỹ. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguêry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguêry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10).

10. /From p. 151 of the original source./

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By the way, the animals also have anguêry, as is seen from a myth entitled mbore-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguêry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According to Poýdjú, the anguêry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

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A constant preoccupation of every Guarani, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguêry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguêry"; that is also why she does not let the children go "that way." Every anguêry does harm; it brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers; Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

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The anguêry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from exceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

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775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Nanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprobable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit": bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the companionship of those who live here on this world.

[176] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráfja) to their protected ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

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828 With the rebirth of the deceased, explains Sebastião, not only does the ayvukú (porlivé) return, but also the corresponding atsýyguá. Which is to say that the anguery disappears and there is no longer any shade. It is then said: "Ofimangá djevý kó yvýpy," he was reborn, that is, he died and returned to this earth. The interesting idea that merits being noted here is that of a kind of involution through which the atsýyguá goes, in order to take up its childish form again, either embryonic or only potential, with which to start its career on the earth's surface again. Thus, in spite of the psychological theory of the innate qualities, the Guaraní makes the individual character depend on the experiences that he goes through in the course of his life, on the things that he practices, and by which his atsýyguá develops more or less. In the final analysis, behavior does not stem from the character, but the character from the behavior.

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828 In spite of the common foundation of the collective representations that form the skeleton of the psychological doctrine of the Nandéva, we see that any attempt at a categorical and rigid description would be illusory, because the basic scheme is capable of more or less individualistic elaboration and variation, according to the religious experience of each priest or the vigor of his imagination. From village to village the researcher thus notes the existence of new ideas and the absence of others; from village to village he records peculiar transformations and accretions, owing to the uniqueness of the historical situation of the interethnic contacts to which the group has been subjected.

The same is evidently true for the other subgroups. Thus just as the Nandéva psychological doctrine presented here is diverging, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, from what Nimuendajú left us, that of the Mblá does not agree -- or does not now agree -- with the one that Cadogan found among the Indians of the Paraguayan Guafra (11).

11. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952.

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What is /119/ presented in these pages is that of the village of Rio Branco, collected principally from the lips of my friend Capitão Francisco, who, although he does not use the title Nanderû, is a family chief with an active and intense religious life.

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[826] For the Mbûã, according to the source indicated, the human being is divided into txeretê ("my body") and txetêê (my spirit, or in literal translation, "my tongue" or "speech"). In spite of this summary designation for the soul, there is the idea of plurality, in consequence, we might say, of an attempt at analytical comprehension of txetêê from the point of view of its qualities and inclinations. In contrast to what is given for the Nandêva, the biotic tendencies of man do not constitute an "animal" soul of the individual for the Mbûã, as Cadogan [184] [114] also observed in the group studied by him (12).

12. /From p. 151 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1952, p. 33.

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[91] The Mbûã (Rio Branco) admit the existence of three souls in each individual, two good ones and one bad one, which are manifested through communication, that is, by means of language and a process that we might call comparable to telepathy. The bad soul and one of the good ones produce good representations or manifestations relative to other persons, who may be found in the vicinity as well as at great distances. It is therefore a matter of the person in his relations with other human beings. The third human soul, a kind of protector spirit, has charge of the individual's safety, for example, keeping watch over him when he is asleep alone in the forest. It is not, as it might appear, a being distinct from the man, as the Christian Guardian Angel is, but an integral part of his person (somewhat like the demon of Plato) and is likewise called heê. It is even the first of the three souls sent by God, like, say, the initial nucleus of the personality.

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Although a few lines above it was insisted that the designation HeE is a name adequate for putting the faculty of communication in the first rank, it is obvious that for the Mbüá, too, the soul is not reduced to this. After all it is necessary to have something to be communicated, particularly the inclinations and impulses of the individual, his desires, which for every Guarani seem to constitute the essence of his soul. The Mbüá divides them up into two categories, the good ones and the wicked ones, speaking therefore of good and bad souls. In this sense the terms good and wicked do not translate an ethical evaluation, but a purely naturalistic distinction, more or less like strong and weak, or beneficial and dangerous. And, bearing in mind the communitary mentality of primitive man, it is not surprising that this dualism refers especially to the attitudes and the behavior of the individual before his fellow tribesmen.

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/120/ The seat of the soul -- or the souls -- is not a particular part of the body, but the whole body. Furthermore, the HeE are characterized by a relatively free and autonomous existence, that is, they exist independently of the body, being able to leave it, one by one, and going to distant regions. If at a given moment, for example, someone thinks of me in faraway Mato Grosso, being angry with me or even wishing me harm, it is because my bad soul has met the one belonging to him there in the forest, irking it. Conversely, the unexpected recollection of an Indian friend who accompanied me on some trip into the interior or something else of the sort is nothing other than a visit with which his good soul (or one of his good souls) treats me.

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The three souls come and go through the vertex, moving freely through space; on the hypothesis, however, that all abandon the body at one time, the person dies.

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Incidentally, the day of death is already determined at the time of birth. Everyone comes into the world bearing his destiny. This also explains why the best of the doctor-sorcerers does not always succeed in saving the patient's life. "Sinners" do not go to the sky immediately. Their "spirit" remains roaming about in an intermediate region until the body is completely decomposed. Only then does the good part have permission to enter

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heaven, while the bad part remains going about on earth as a shade. Thus we notice that "sin" is simply a manifestation of the bad part of the human soul. At death the bad part of the soul, which the Mbūā call mboguā (Francisco also uses the word anguēry, more common in the other two subgroups of the tribe), goes to live in the cemetery; "at night, it does not know where to sleep, leaves, and goes that way."

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[184] From all this it is seen that, in spite of the tripartition of the soul -- originating perhaps, like the notion of "sinner," from a poorly understood Christianity -- it is a matter here, as has already been explained above, of a genuine psychological dualism. For, understood as the faculty of exteriorization of the man within the context of the community, the soul is divided, for the Mbūā, into social and antisocial inclinations. Badness or wickedness are equivalent to the tendency to quarrel, the spirit of rebellion. One trait, however, which seems to distinguish the Mbūā (and the Kayová) psychology from that of the Nandéva is that in it the negative part of the human soul is connected less to the instinctive life of the human being.

[184] The above psychological theory was recorded, as we said, among the Mbūā of the village of Rio Branco. Explanations obtained in other groups diverge from it. Thus, the religious chief of the Mbūā of Itariri /121/ admits the existence of four souls in each person, one located in the head, another one in the heart, and two that remain outside, caring for the individual. According to the textual words of the informant: Txeé irundy fleēkuēry arekō; petefn arekō txepeāre, petefn arekō txeakāre, mokōi arekō okāpe, oñāgarekōva txeheé.

[184] Unfortunately the data that I have about the "psychological theory" of the Kayová are too disparate and incongruent for one to be able to attempt a systematization. It is certain that the Kayová, too, in a general way profess the dualist doctrine, more or less in the Nandéva sense. The sublime part of the soul, of celestial origin, is the fleē or ayvú, respectively fleēguē or ayvúkuē. For the less good part, they gave me the name anguēry

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774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvê are an incarnation of tavýterê, celestial
[774] beings or spirits ("Randedjêre"), which, in the religious sphere,
are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the
way, several categories of tavýterê, one of them called
775 verândydjê. After death, the ayvukê of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguani, god of thunder. It also goes to yvêflemendêê,
where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called
haffingûê rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, how-
ever, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a
fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the
celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination femyrê,
a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvukê of a child, contrary to what happens with that of
an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called
guyrárovádjû), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
Randey ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celest-
[828] tial region called yrukýtétê. The less good part of the soul,
the one that becomes anguêry, is being formed during the earthly
existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has
not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no
anguêry.

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3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his
disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his re-
ligious experiences is the /122/ porahêi, or prayer. The
[533] porahêi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takúapú for marking the rhythm of the dance.
Song, dance (difroký), and instrumental sound thus constitute
a unity. The porahêi is sometimes communitarian depending

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782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
796 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that
is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed
only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help
of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[796] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[424] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable
[78] porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector
spirit. This among the Nandéva and the Mbá. The Kayová,
[184] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[424] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also
[787] being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, par-
ticularly on the part of the pai.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody,
tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are in-
comprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some
words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural
sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of
the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in
the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[786] During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to
the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from every-
thing that is going on around them, the participants experience
profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face trans-
figured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the
prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher
encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he
possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called
folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers
for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

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782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayer, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (12).

12. /From p. 181 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Bandjira, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacaré confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Bandjira, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Bandjira tredjahi," said Hilié. Among the mbéa of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahé is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /122/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated Soé or syvá, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
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782 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious senti-
778 ment developed by it: a proper way "some" more or less
621 "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Amblé, on
the religious behavior of the fellow villagers. Here there is
a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction
of individuals who consider themselves a social unit. If, in the
group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to
the mystery and criticism of the "nationalists," no longer takes
the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this
attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency
of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies per-
formed in the village. The parabé is also identified, at least
among the Koyoré, with the "path" of the soul to the sky.
Finally, there are many representations bound up with the parabé,
which the individual and the group need in order to enter into
communication with the Beyond.

782 The individual parabé, as the Bandé and Abé know it,
781 is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a
dream. The Bandé Fernando of Jacaré maintained to me that
(176) Bandé reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers,
transmitting them either personally or by way of fluency (the
son), whom he sometimes commands. These prayers that con-
stitute an integral part of the religious feast directed by the
doctor-sacerdot are more or less known to the whole group. Re-
garding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already
at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly
(184) in a categorical manner among the Bandé that there are no
two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for
(424) the Abé. But a person may have a certain number of prayers,
(554) an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Bandé
(184) that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major im-
portance. In general, the wife and children accompany the
husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer.
At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is,
"some good dream," he rises, takes the /134/ mbaraké, and be-
gins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the také.

(194 con.)

762 The Bandari is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).

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14. /These p. 101 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the General Bandari and the padri of the Transilvians. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galois, 1948, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitude of one's fellows and the behavior and provocations of the one who prays himself. In order for his cure to be effective -- "in order not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Tio of Mazonal --, the Bandari should nourish himself exclusively with "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

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I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances directed by Bandari Miguel, who brought a group of khiká to a long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Barlet, on the Atlantic Ocean. During the purá (name of the prayer in the khiká dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Bandari Tumaká, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

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- 782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
 869 passed on by instruction. A Bandurá is created both by inspira-
 756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by
 the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with
 a specialist. At Domados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí
 and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a
 mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would
 gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with
 them -- "instructing them," in the words of Macal. He would
 appear with his "pupila," praying, at the ohá (dancing ground)
 of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At
 Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a
 very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."
 756 At least among the Kayová and Bandéva the acquisition
 785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
 (184) in sexual life. Any Guarani can become one who prays -- the
Bandurá Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does
 not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have
 no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers
 to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the super-
 natural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
 (869) holds for women who wish to become curers (Bandetá, "our
 (868) mother"); they start to learn /125/ from the time they are chil-
 dren and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the
 abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they
 are destined. Old Fernando told me: Bandurá does not readily
 756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
 159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
 (582) master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in
 order to be able to become Bandurá.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married,
 (183) claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
 been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little re-
 ligious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification
 ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to
 take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

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756 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
of the porahã. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
756 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
183 consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Nandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The
cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
782 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
198 to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /From pp. 151-182 of the original source./
The same is true, by the way, about the chicha
songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí
text there is sung, for example, Takurú pñííva
ñesyú; in modern Kayová one would say, "Takurú
pñííva rysí," which means: red ants /Port.
cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
186 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
828 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guarani always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

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828 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sang /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my prayers." This reminds one of the Nandéva expression that the protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual. It is easy to see that the porahéi is taken both as force and as substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suitable for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

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829 One final observation with reference to the function of the prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dynamism seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Nandéva of Jacaré, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious; that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (Hemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign concepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional doctrines themselves.

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[181] doctrines themselves. As internal dimensions increase, these same concepts, as is clarified in another part of this work, serve to make the group itself responsible for the impossibility of achieving cultural ideals which, nonetheless, everybody continues to aspire to. Concrete expressions of this impossibility are, in the first place, the reduction and final disappearance of the feasts with collective prayers and dances, and, secondly, the progressive abandonment of the individual prayer as a manifestation of religiousness. Without any exaggeration it can be said that the Guaraní ceases to be Guaraní when he ceases to feel the necessity to apply himself to his religious devotions, that is, to the porahêi.

[184] /127/ When the social disorganization of the villages reaches the point of making the feasts with collective prayers and dances no longer performable, the family heads still continue to perform the domestic cult, the last one to die out. At Bananal I found few houses in which anyone still prayed; at Dourados I never heard a Nandéva sing his porahêi. This is a state which none of the Kayová or Mbíá villages visited by me had reached.

4. Ideas about sicknesses and death

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[773] It might be said in the last analysis that the dangers, the great misfortunes that preoccupy and torment the spirit of the Guaraní, are reduced to two: the many sicknesses that afflict him and, even more, the mythical idea of the end of the world ever closer and closer.

Let us linger a little over the notion of the illnesses which in fact prevail frighteningly among the poor Guaraní and which -- it is not difficult to verify -- will see to it that the day on which the end of the world will be reached for this tribe actually is not far off.

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Among the South American Indians the most common opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that had individuals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however, it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

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In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sicknesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic resources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in a short space of time can cause important social consequences, generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious resources, or that of the capiflo, who has made use of his police authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the opposing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

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One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

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157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guarani. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

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771 The practices of black magic among the Guarani are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingang /Caingang/, the Tereno, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambai, when he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

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756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon Catalan, famous curer of Amambai, told me that his patients die only when they are struck by sorcery; in such a case it would be necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village.

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123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

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[182] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeëgaraf, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called ñemboévaí or tekoápapá; they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike; the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.

[182] The Kayová also use the name ñeëgaraf referred to above (along with mbórahêi ivaí) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbeépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paí Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahêi ivaí that Paí Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbeépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[182] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohê vaí, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

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755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Posto Indígena Benjamim Constant

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

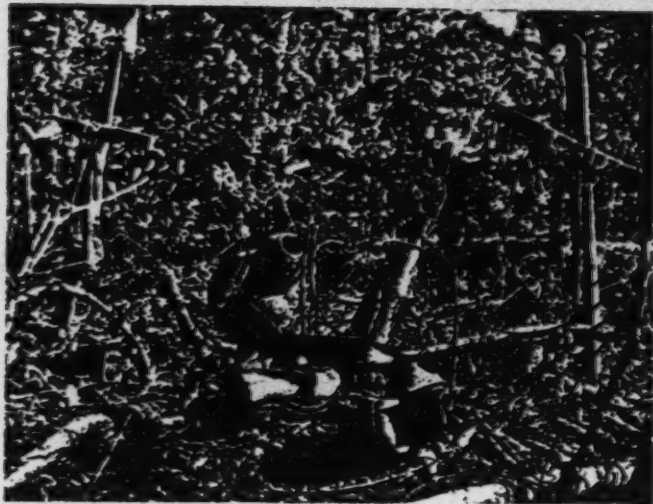
2: Schaden--167 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

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X. Religious dance of
the Kayová-Guarani
of Dourados.

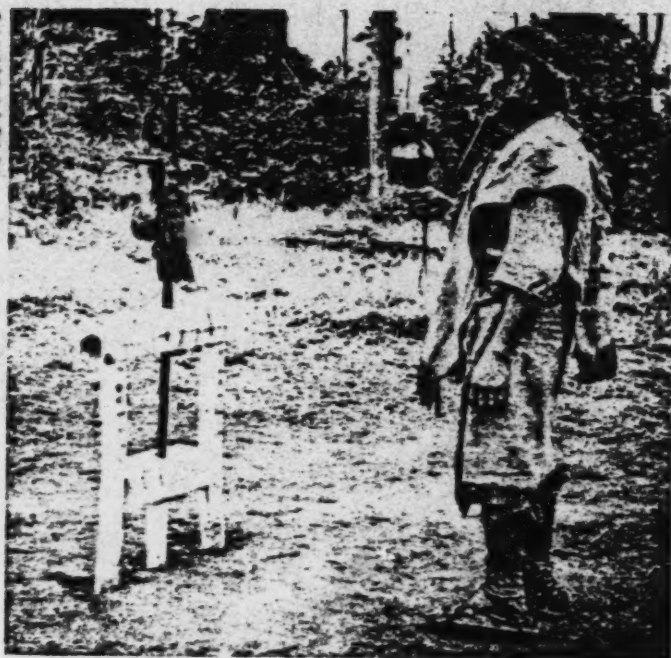
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XI. Kayová cemetery of Amambai.

2: Schaden--168 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

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754 told me that the corpse is cut up with an ax before it is buried;
755 then the author of the sorcery will also die.) To neutralize the
countersorcery, the killer disinters the body or a piece of it,
casting it into the river. The Indian Vicente, of the same vil-
lage, explained the death of his wife to me, saying: "This son
of mine saw a fellow countryman digging in the cemetery."

[115] The technique of countersorcery, as was explained to me by
[825] Capitão Alberto, is less macabre: One takes a wad of hair
from the deceased and catches a snake, which is made to bite
several times into the wad of hair; the snake is burned alive
in a fire next to the grave and is buried with the deceased. If
the author of the death is unable to disinter the corpse and throw
it in the water, he will die, because "the snake is what is
poisonous."

[114] /130/ A singular ritual practice of countersorcery of the
[115] Kayová, which, meanwhile, I have not had the opportunity to
754 witness either, was related to me by Marçal de Souza. When
755 the corpse of a person who fell victim to sorcery is lowered into
766 the grave, a lad chosen by the doctor-sorcerer brings a toad and
825 another one a poisonous snake. Then the doctor-sorcerer orders
cut two fine and long spits, which he runs through the body of the
toad from the anus to the mouth and from side to side, forming a
cross. Meanwhile the two lads act as though they were the vic-
tims of the thrusts with the spits: they go through contortions,
they jump, they bite at each other, yell, pull the hair, pretend
to be eating hot coals and other things that cause pain. Then the
doctor-sorcerer takes the snake and makes it take several bites in
the dead toad. The lads repeat the pantomime and "confess"
to have been the authors of the sorcery that made a victim of the
deceased. Then they repeat it while the doctor-sorcerer kills the
snake with a stick and pronounces a sort of malediction, speaking
to the dead animals: as you died, so will the author of the sorcery
die. Finally the two dead animals are buried together with the
human cadaver. Similia similibus curantur /like cures like/.

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It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concomitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guarani life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guarani mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

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 753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
 159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
 (199) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
 (753) not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of
 the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious,
 and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the
 same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an
 official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any for-
 eign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to
 health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If
 in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic,
 the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he
 discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
 (184) sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the
quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., with-
 out there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-
 intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the
 unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the
 manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked
 with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either
 by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate
 medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient him-
 self, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guarani, particularly
 753 that of the Nandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses
 and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism
 and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resigna-
 tion. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
 761 Dr. Milício, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
 753 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
 159 died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explana-
 tion. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die,
 treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to
 die, Nandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

761 /131 cont./
 753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
 159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
 75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude,
 but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the effi-
 ciency of the magical and medicinal resources is only con-
 ditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential charac-
 teristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-
 sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a
 cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when
 he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once; he
 ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope.
Plat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
 761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will.
 Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not
 die. On the contrary, the Nandéva says, his supernatural facul-
 ties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer
 of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous
 state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit com-
 municated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live
 in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself
 becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only
 two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit,
 "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very
 fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why
 Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of
 old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-
 sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his
 knowledge properly and of living according to the demands
 stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he
 errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a
 [821] thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant
 theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that
 in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the
 twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

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761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
756 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death
of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Nanderú omanó (God is the one who gave the origin)," this is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me, "Nanderú kaffingüera ombó ypy," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan; it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world.

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

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761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Ekimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the Nanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

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782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ofeégupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

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775 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Nandéva, may even be re-born. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Nanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

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773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

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761 armed with glowing arrows will shoot and kill anyone who has
773 the notion of escaping. The Guarani has an incomparably greater
fear of this death than he has of biological death. And what is
the origin of this belief? Should we interpret it as a simple
survival of Jesuit teachings or as a fusion of the Apocalypse with
the idea of eternal condemnation in the Christian hell? We do not
know. The important thing in any case is the verification that,
integrated into the Guarani doctrinary system, it has been trans-
formed into a pagan representation. For the idea of this terrifying
death has revived the ancient tribal mythology and perhaps is the
decisive factor in the incomparable intensity of the Guarani
mysticism, which today impregnates all cultural manifestations
of the tribe.

761 One of the most difficult subjects of conversation with a
764 Guarani -- whatever subgroup he may belong to -- is what refers
to death and funeral practices. The fear of the dead is such that
the informants in general are struck dumb as soon as the conversa-
[114] tion touches on this domain. As far as the Mbã are concerned,
it has not even been possible for me to persuade them, in any of
the groups visited, to show me a grave.

764 Formerly interment in a clay urn might have been common
198 among the Guarani. Nowadays this funeral practice does not exist
in any of the villages that I have been able to visit. If it existed,
its disappearance is surely linked to the introduction of iron uten-
sils, responsible for the decline of ceramics, of which only in-
significant vestiges remain today.

/135/ Burial inside the huts, according to my observations
and the information collected, is not observed among the present-
day Guarani either.

764 Among the Mbã, however, the memory that they formerly
198 had such a practice continues to live. Nowadays the graves are
184 found in the forest, some kilometers from the village, far from
[171] one another, there being over them a small mound of earth, hut of
guaricanga and a wooden cross thrust in at the feet of the deceased
(the latter detail found, by the way, not only among the three

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[534] Guaraní subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day immediately after the death, it falling to the Nanderú to plant the cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to the grave for several days, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the takupá. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

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178 The Nandéva of Bananal, perhaps the most acculturated ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Peruibe and Ipanhem: they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grave they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (djeatssá, religious ornament) on the body, an indication (even if there were no others) that those acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the fear of the anguá that the Guaraní have.

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[78] In the south of Mato Grosso the Nandéva remember having had among them the interment inside the dwelling: they abandoned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away: today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Póto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Isidro) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house shelters noxious substances.

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178 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

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775 And, as could not fail to be the practices reflect in some
764 way the ideas about the destiny of the soul of the deceased. Over
372 the grave is lighted -- Mbáá, Nandéva, and Kayová -- a small
fire /136/ especially on the night of the interment. The Kayová
say they do it for the soul to find the road to the Beyond, a usage
[114] which might be taken as a reinterpretation, in native terms, of an
originally Christian practice were it not for the evidence to the
contrary, the information contained in ancient sources concerning
other Tupí-Guaraní (16).

16. /From p. 152 of the original source./ Of
the three recommendations that the Tupinambá
made to the dead, the first was that they should
not let the fire go out (d'Evreux, 1929, p. 167).
Other related tribes also believed in the need for
illumination for the soul to make the dangerous
journey to the Beyond and not become lost in the
dark regions that it has to cross. See, for instance,
Métraux, 1928 b, p. 122.

The fire is lighted immediately after the burial; when it is the
case of a child, sometimes they content themselves with one or
two candles. The fire is considered indispensable on the grave
[115] of the adults. Marçal, my principal and best informant, told
me the Nandéva explanation, adding that he did not know whether
it was also valid for the Kayová: the ñeëguê of the deceased,
carrying the memory of all the places traversed during life, feels
the need to see them all again after death, only afterwards does
it go to the Beyond; the fire serves it for illumination. The same
informant told me that, for the Nandéva, the deceased some-
times "manifests" himself to the survivors by means of cries, weep-
ing, or some other way; it is because the ñeëguê is in need of
light. Someone then goes to the cemetery to light a candle or a fire
[114] on the grave. It is to be noted, by the way, that, according to
this explanation, it is the ñeëguê (originally only the sublime part
of the human soul) that needs the light, while a person "who does

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775 not have entrance to the sky," that is to say, who is not accepted
764 because of a disorderly life, returns to roam about on earth with-
372 out rest, becoming transformed into an anguary. A doctrine which
[774] obviously takes into account less primitive concepts, since it re-
places the belief in the duality of the human soul by the Christian
notion of reward and condemnation.

764 At the Põsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú (Araribá), where the
178 burial is usually done in hammocks (unless the post administrator
[769] provides a wooden box), the graves are decorated on the Day of
[768] the Dead in the same way as the Christian ones are, but, on the
other hand, they keep the custom of putting on the tomb the ob-
jects that belonged to the deceased, especially in the case of
children. When a child dies, they put on the grave the toys left
768 behind by it and on the following days go to take the things that
764 they still find: on the tombs of adults they place the porunga
/water container/ that the deceased -- or rather the deceased woman
-- used for carrying water, besides other objects of personal use.

The "odds and ends" that belonged to the deceased, and
which are not buried with him, are placed on the tomb for an
unlimited time. At the cemetery of the Põsto Indígena Benjamim
Constant there was a vast number of things: bottles, porongos,
calabashes, shoes, bows, dishes, pots and pans, and so on. Ex-
posed to the weather, these objects are gradually /137/ destroyed;
it also happens, as Capitão Alberto told me, that the better things
are "stolen" by some interested person. The temptation, in fact,
must be great. I have not been able to find out whether there is
[775] actually an idea that the "spirit" (anguary) of the dead person
[714] can utilize the "odds and ends" that he used during his life (17).

17. /From p. 152 of the original source./
No calabash is left on the grave, aside from
those that belonged to the dead man or woman,
contrary to what V. D. Watson states, 1944,
p. 40.

768 Among the Mbũá I was told that the material goods of the deceased
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768 continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason
775 that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look
[428] for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of
Troyak confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects
of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar
with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial
is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep
(Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the
pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general,
the burial takes place on the day immediately following the
death (18).

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18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An
extraordinary case, reported by the former ad-
ministrator of the P. I. Benjamin Constant, is
that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire,
who, there not being any cure, was buried still
alive; a very deep grave was dug, so that she
would not get out.

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In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to
innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso
villages has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week
after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in
Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso
region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far
into the night; guitar music accompanying songs in Guarani
("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter
of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to
drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in
the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in
the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the
grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighbor-
ing Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guarani

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religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the fear of the "wake of the crow" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious: what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an opportunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

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19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

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that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the children they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

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Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the image of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvy marã eñ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's explanation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

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5. The direction of the religious acculturation

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There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guarani acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

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It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Nandéva and Lbñá groups of the Paulista coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Nandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

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[797] /139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guarani, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Nandéva responds promptly: "All the Guarani are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

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Nowadays the Guarani rarely come in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moitendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the kanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pósto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guarani as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

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The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the Nandéva, as well as among the Mbũa of Rio Branco, also goes along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Itariri I knew several Nandéva who had been baptized repeatedly: Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

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It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the caçara, not only usually demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

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[184] the woman, the children, and other elements of the community with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínia, a Pernambucan who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guarani culture in this manner are soon modified in their significance and in their functions. Time and again the children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbatá of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

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[175] Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunderstandings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongarai, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo, capitiño and principal man of prayer of the Nandéva of Bananal, died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the original text/ curer from the vicinity. "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré, which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

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771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
177 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
178 bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did
[157] not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years
earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village.
Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious ac-
culturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" accord-
ing to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in
the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground
for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
776 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
177 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Nandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Nandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[44] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
[273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with
wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful
not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be dis-
respectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of
João Samuel, a Nandéva who had lived for some years in São
Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He
had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or
[432] sold, but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or
anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of
Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him
a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away."
There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before
it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side,
Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João
Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would
put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine
that someone in his household had to take.

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776 JoJo Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guarani perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirê /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his,
the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the
middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an
old woman come, dancing, to him the saint three times. Then
his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on
the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirê in Bananal,
when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the
miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, JoJo
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da.
Limpada, appeared in JoJo Samuel's house; he was angry about
the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay,
of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which
seemed offensive to him, JoJo Samuel invoked the fact that his
father had already been a guitar player and "already had some
prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guarani, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of
São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José;
in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory
with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all
provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of
them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like
it when reference was made to these things and even seemed
somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the de-
votional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from
the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the
magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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177 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guarani, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

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177 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guarani religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

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178 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least of little importance in the body of the collective representations of the group, have easily become established among the Nandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Nanderuvutuá is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

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But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guarani mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

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783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity,
resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according
to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-
organized group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the
present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral
guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it
meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore,
there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the
analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites
and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 post mortem punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in rein-
carnation (peculiar to the Nandéva subgroup), that there is no
motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True,
the anguery, into which the atryyguá is transformed, is unhappy;
but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability,
it is not properly the person of the deceased. The latter, rep-
resented by the ayvukué, finds its redemption (and it is around
the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates)
through rebirth or, in definitive form, through aguydjé, i. e., the
journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability,
tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capifio of
the Nandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that
in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to
add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much
go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem
from reprobable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[784] Nandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not
so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without
Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./

776 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunder-
184 storms the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añi). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropoph-
agy. Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes

775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
776 misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
869 rede, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.

784 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
soul must go through the realm of añi. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; any-
one who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure

775 of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
776 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
177 has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
[821] Nandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining
ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul
by añi, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order
to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty
or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disre-
spect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly
not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between
good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[82] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very dif-
ferent attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guarani religion is the true one. One exam-
[669] ple: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer:
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guarani is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbílá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a femongarai, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

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771 refrained from having a porahê when there was some white man
 796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumf pîta, the pierc-
 177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
 829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
 [782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
 [154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
 on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
 ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
 pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
 their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
 the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
 that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
 177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
 178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
 [621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
 for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
 the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
 tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
 177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
 159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Nandéva from
 156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
 as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
 counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
 ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
 one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
 hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
 ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
 tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
 the region and other elements of the civilized world.

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171 I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the
 159 following passage the words in quotation marks are translated
 829 from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the
 1782 "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized
 1755 doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb
 1757 tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future
 1776 when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put
 1778 it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the
mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do
 not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during
 the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words;
 they do not speak of Nandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I
 cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice
 with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And,
 changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him:
 1844 The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with
 1608 takúarembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a
 relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is
 1553 a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is
 1787 the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it.
 1851 He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles
 the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The
 baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence
 of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather
 props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with
 great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure
 the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle
 1237 of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive
 1782 nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the
 1851 four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the
 1553 name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the
 spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in
 1775 order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does
 not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

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771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
 159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
 184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
 [574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
 pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
 /147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
 in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
 [571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
 [608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
 he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
 among whom, in contrast to the Nandéva, the institution of the
 godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
 community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
 religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
 monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
 ligious equipment. While the Nandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
 them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
 that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabador" on the
 occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
 as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
 [178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
 his ancestors: the yvyráfajá, protector spirit, is identified with
 the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
 "little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
 it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
 the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
 177 nucleus of resistance of the Guarani culture confronted with dis-
 178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that accultura-
 tion is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds
 in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct
 phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are
 accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

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771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medicinal,
177 or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

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Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechising. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

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The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takua(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takua(pú). In only one village, in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá Randerü who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká 1) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The Randerü referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

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Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mblá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý,
[322] a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasa rapó (root
[824] of araca), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with
[789] any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ŷ or of [824] katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

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[1824] one is of yrukuí y (considered a male plant, so they told me) or yvyrá rikuí f, with a string of pindó ryv f (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekô) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

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829 The guyrapá f has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá f djáretá
[176] (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of

[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá f would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarñias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar

[54] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste, the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the substitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

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538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which
on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes
it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that rep-
resent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible
to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison
with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example,
much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, espe-
cially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect
of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation,
as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric
elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the
other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously,
more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world,
realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new con-
ception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the
groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their
migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbílá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government de-
cided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito
Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/
Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also
crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many
new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 polipe, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does
not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon ex-
cept his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not
leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in
all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

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177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "It may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many people.

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[829] It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given the Guarani a special sensibility regarding this order of components of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons or avá poty.

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538 In the association of the Guaraní with the catíaras, the folk-
 179 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
 181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
 825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
 [171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- particularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house, it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at the post of Icatu (6).

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6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

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the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

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A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guarani culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guarani. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers. Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Nandeva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

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7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatuaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatuaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden *apud* Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatuaá.

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Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pendant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo, "in order to have strength; the armadillo has its strength in the hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against toothache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa Senhora de Montserrat /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in general, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

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The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Nandéva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

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I have noted among the Nandéva and the Kayová the figure of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

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776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear: it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá f): it does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamin Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. -- It is obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

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121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guarani groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Nandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

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538 Before concluding these notes, I should also mention the
533 acculturative function of the folklore in the process of partial
184 homogenization observed in the contact among the Guaraní of
the different subtribes. While, for example, in Itariri few
Ñandéva individuals showed any propensity to let themselves be
influenced by the religious ideas of the Mbílá recently arrived
from Paraguay, there seems to be little reluctance, particularly
among the youths, concerning the acceptance of their more or
539 less secular songs. Just as they knew the latest carnival tunes,
533 the young people sang the stanzas brought by the strangers. I
shall reproduce some examples here:

1. Erú una karéra mbóguédjý nderyvý. Toguataguatá. Opáma
piéa. (Bring a chair for your little brother to sit down. He
can walk himself. That's the end of the fun.)
2. Kutxára ñomfáre, kutxára ñomfáre, roritoridjü rorí rýimá;
ararakére nde yguaryrü riré. (He stole the spoon, he stole the
spoon ... a leg, on the wooden branch, in the water vessel.)
3. Pétýguá mirí djaroguatá(va) (or: eroguatá), yvyrá-í, mbaraká
katk /sic/. We go around smoking the little pipe, walking
stick and mbaraká katú.)
4. Txeretá mombyry; ndavýái. Avaká poré repotí ndaútséire;
djuruá mbotavýve yvýguaré. (My place is very far away; I
have not become used to it here. I do not want to eat the
litter of pretty oxen; the Brazilian wants to deceive people.)
5. Édjü, txeirü í, djadjogueroá; alparivé riós rupépa, rupépa,
ityryrü káf, ityryrü káf. (Come, my comrade, let us fight;
it is my error: urupé /a kind of tree/ urupé, liver /Port. fígado,
liver, bravery/ of macaco.) Judging by the explanations, it is
a matter of oreiha-de-pau /ear tree/.
6. Oré oroópotá pará ovái; oró ú ñuñ takuary-porí. (We want to go
to the other side of the sea, in order to suck sugar cane.)
7. Djateréí katú raé, txeryvý, pará ovái, djaá djírodjý, djaá yvý
reé. (Let us two together, my nephew, go across the sea, let us
take ourselves, well let us go -- from the earth -- together.)

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- 539 8. Éguedj, tũpĩ ray: djadjapó piẽta porĩ, djadjapó piẽta, overã.
533 (Come down, son of God -- of thunder --, let us go to have a
nice feast, let us go to have a feast, there is lightning.)

These texts, whose linguistic analysis does not belong here, remind one, in their syncopated form, of the guahũ songs, common at all the chicha feasts of the Kayová. For our study, however, they more importantly reveal, as is expressed in several of them, a preoccupation about crossing the sea in order to find happiness in Paradise, a subject to which the following chapter will be devoted.

000 /The notes for Ch. IX appear here on p. 160 in the original source./

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Chapter X

The Myth of Paradise in Guaraní Culture and Life

It seems undisputable that the mystical spirit dominant in all the sectors of Guaraní life can be understood on its own terms only when one considers the place of cataclysmology in the conjunction of mythical representations. The myths of the Flood, of the Universal Fire, and other cataclysms of the past are stories of exemplar function that are projected into the future as dangers hanging frighteningly over the destiny of humanity. The earth on which we live is condemned to destruction in the more or less near future, an expectation that cannot fail to be a reason for panic for those who live on it. Hence the psychic need to procure a plank of salvation, which the Guaraní finds in the myth of the Land without Evil, today a genuine element of his culture (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./ With the statement that the myth of the Land without Evil is a genuinely Guaraní element, it is not intended to ignore the

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existence of analogous ideas in other cultures of South American tribes, in particular of the Tupí-Guaraní family. The latter, by the way, are frequently characterized as "migrant groups," for, notwithstanding the importance of tillage in their cultures, many of them have only a weak tendency for sedentary life. The reports from the colonial period repeatedly mention the great migratory currents of the Tupinambá along the Brazilian coast, as well as toward the interior of the continent, in a western direction. Everything seems to indicate that one of the motives for these migrations was the quest for the Promised Land, which is already mentioned in 1515 in the text of the "Neue Zeytung aus Prestillig Landt," the first document about Brazil published by the typographic art (Brandenburger, 1922, p. 26 et passim), and about which various chroniclers also tell us. It is known that myths about Paradise do not constitute any rarity in the conjunction of the collective representations of the American tribes. It is sufficient to remember the Beautiful Land (Tenetehára), the Fountain of Youth (Aruák /Arawak/ of Central America), the Fortunate Isles (Karáib /Carib/), the Orchard of Paradise (Payaguá, perhaps Christian influence here), and still others. But it seems that in no other tribe has this mythical tradition come to have the place that it takes among the Guaraní, in whose religion it occupies a central position particularly by virtue of the manner in which it is bound up with the myth of the destruction of the world in the future.

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-- Nevertheless there does not seem to be any justification for the opinion published by me in an earlier work (Schaden, 1946, 112), that the Guaraní religion could be characterized as a "religion of despair."

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"religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guarani touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

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Thus the Guarani spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

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We shall see that the Guarani imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

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In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2)

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1914.

tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guarani Indians studied by him. Under the

771 /162 cont./ Under the
 772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
 167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
 756 the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
 787 started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
 175 in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
 Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
 part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
 they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the coun-
 try of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-
 day Nandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate sur-
 [175] roundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found
 some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guarani, who could not
 be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
 the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
 [796] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
 [178] order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
 [121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
 the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
 In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frus-
 trating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise con-
 tinue to exist among them and what modifications had it under-
 gone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
 [184] continue, at least among the Mbãã. I have the impression, by
 the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the
 Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
 seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guarani groups now living in
 Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
 have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
 part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
 773 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
 797 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
 177 possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

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[184] /162 cont./

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbllá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

3. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4),

4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

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The belief in future catastrophes (5)

5. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Graebner, 1924, pp. 68-69, seems to consider it characteristic of "patrilineal cultures." For the sake of a comparison of the Guaraní problem with analogous beliefs among the Australian aborigines, it is instructive to read Petri's article, 1950. In 1952 I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with this author at the University of Frankfurt am Main.

is a relatively rare phenomenon in the mythology of the Tupí group. Métraux told me that he had found it among the Txiriguano /Chiriguano/. Father Albert Kruse recorded it among the Mundurukú /Mundurucu/ (6)

6. /From p. 177 of the original source./
"At the end of the world, Karusakaybë will burn the human beings." Kruse, 1951, p. 922.

and Nimuendajú noted analogous ideas among the Tukúna /Tucuna/ (in whose language no small Tupí influence has been verified) (7).

7. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 137-139.

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In the Tukúna tribe, by the way, the belief appears in relation to the civilizer hero Dyof, who would be offended by the fact that the spiritual tradition of the tribe had been adulterated by the cultural influences of the civilized world. The idea should be noted as significant because of its partial similarity with the Guaraní representations.

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The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbláá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Nandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

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What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

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If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

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772 The fundamental conception from which the belief in Paradise is derived is aguydjé, which may be translated as happiness, perfection, and victory. Montoya has already given due attention to the conception, at least from the linguistic point of view (8).

8. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Montoya, 1876, Vol. I, pp. 20-22.

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772 For the Guaraní, aguydjé corresponds to the very purpose and objective of human existence. In this sense it is usually conceived concretely as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world, which everybody passionately wishes to reach without dying beforehand, and the obtaining of which depends principally on obedience to so many prescriptions, religious, "moral," or simply magical. In its origin, the mythical representation properly speaking is reduced to a kind of Island of Happiness in the middle of the distant ocean, which is reached with the help of a long rope or in some other way, and where death is not known. One attempts to reach this island for a life in spiritual communion with the deities and in order to achieve immortality, but not in order to flee from any imminent catastrophe, contrary to what is noted after the apocalyptic transformation of the myth.

[776] In order to have an idea of the lability inherent in the representation of the Guaraní Paradise, it is sufficient to consider, for example, the variety of denominations that correspond to it. Let us content ourselves with some examples. The Nandéva consider Paradise the land of the civilizer hero Nanderykéy, designating it as yvy-flomimbyré. As the translation of this word, I have been given in the village of Bananal the expression "land in which people hide," while at Araribá they translated it as "the hidden land." The first interpretation refers to the place where it is hoped to find refuge on the occasion of the cataclysm, while the second one calls to mind the destruction of the first world in the mythical past, an occasion on which the civilizer hero stole a piece of the crumbling land, taking it to the celestial regions.

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772 The denominations yvy-mará-eŷ ("land without evil") or simply
771 yváy (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise
heard among the Ñandéva, having been recorded by me in the vil-
lage of Itariri and in P. I. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato
Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveráguaŷú
occurs.

771 /165/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise
772 in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is
18 that it is a matter of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are
free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have
to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this
does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to
obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbũ of Xapecó, ar-
riving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good
lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify
work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Ñandéva, whose
culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration,
and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive
notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the pat-
terns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost
all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal
happiness.

771 The success of the community that wants to enter the Land
772 without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct
756 of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly
118 the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in
24 the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the
Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power
of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon
the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which
the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to
study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Para-
dise.

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1. The Ñandéva

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[128] It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso, of the village of Jacaref. They believe, it is true, that the world is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjé) instead of pre-occupying themselves they will reach it without first passing through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and Avámbaékuai, "the knower of things," together with the group that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that in the village of Jacaref the Indians have quite satisfactory conditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly, the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

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772 For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed, it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

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He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guarani and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guarani remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guarani disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guarani, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoá. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return: As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guarani, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

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One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karai/Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada" / and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

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539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guarani religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil,
because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as
the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the
main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but
that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but
I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly
from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guarani knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural
elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was
unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the
place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that
the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among
them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that,
in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the
path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Nanderyheý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The
present-day Guarani, however -- it is common talk among the
Nandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, be-
cause they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[67] Nowadays the majority of the Nandéva, whose migrations ended
decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by
analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live
near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there
no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements,
nevertheless continues to exist.

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As though ecstatic, the ñanderú Sebastião of Araribá describes the pleasures of Paradise to me. The yvy ñomimbyré is "more like the skies than like earth." There is a big lagoon there; in the center of it a very high cross, from which a small shower falls every day (Okurutsúguí odjídjóú oký ráiví): at the foot of the cross, a "little sheep of gold." (Obviously bound up with the golden calf of the Bible and with the Lamb of God.) There are fruits in abundance; one who finds himself there /168/ lives only on fruit and without working. One cuts off a hand of bananas, turns his back, and there is already another in its place. At yvy ñomimbyré nobody dies. Sebastião explains: "When he becomes so old, suddenly he becomes very young, he does not die." The wife of the ñanderú adds: "One who goes there from here does not die either." And he finishes: "This world is immediately forgotten." -- According to Sebastião's doctrine, the yvy ñomimbyré is not the realm of the souls of the dead (ayvúporãguê): these pass through there and go on. In Paradise people live without clothes ("with body"), but adorned with ornaments of feathers, not doing anything but dance the religious dances of the tribe. The "ancient people" succeeded in going there and staying; but it was because they abstained from taking drink ("spirit beverages") and did not cook their food with grease or season it with salt. It was said: "Idjáguydjê odjê ôivy vyv ñomimbyrére," they went to Paradise. Nowadays it would be possible to go there by airplane. -- Prayers also come from the yvy ñomimbyré. The chief ñanderú (chief--prayer-man) of Paradise sends them by means of spirits who by chance go by there.

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Some years ago the two oldest inhabitants of Bananal -- Pedro Botuca (now deceased) and Ermelina -- both already natives of the coast, told me at length about the journey of the previous generation, who, under the leadership of Capitão Guatú, came from Mato Grosso, in order "to see the sea" and to make ñemongarai on the beach. It was said that the world was coming to an end. Many stayed in the village of Alecrim, others returned to Mato Grosso. Many ñanderú prayed that Nanderykey would come to look for them. At night all prayed; in the morning they went into the forest to seek fruit and honey, but no game,

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772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykéy. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they
passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvy ñomimbyré.
The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die
there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not
hold ñemongarai on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that
it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle."
But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxy, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems
no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time,
as we have seen, the Mbllá who came from Paraguay in 1946.
Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their
mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with
the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that
God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven."
Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not be-
lieve that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he
was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to
go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we
shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only
one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one,
the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of
577 Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While
the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly
speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyráidjá Mbaékuasá)
and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvy mará eý or
yvy ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderykéy, son of Nanderuvutsú,
assisted by his yvyráidjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuasá), for him it was
all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, do-
minion of all those deities.

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2. The Mbüá

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[164] Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

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[114] With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

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[184] It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjé, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

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184 /170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

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- 772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kááguy miní, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage; a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, hotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narí (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduf (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguerekó (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The
- [178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration.
- [181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less desirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living
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186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribes whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandái. Ñanderú ndaipotáí, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

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771 On general lines one observes among the Mbũã that the re-
178 ligious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends
to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to
the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which
[182] the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural
disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the
economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the
normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected be-
cause of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.
771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land
772 never ending": ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer,
[1756] Ketxũta or Ketxũ Křřitu. He now lives in yvỹdjũporã, the "beauti-
ful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will
send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey
there. They will be received by Korã Rõkẽ Pyguã, the porter of
Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxũta. The
latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build
their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there,
no death. And there they will find alive their deceased compan-
ions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to
grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing
but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference
there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that
[177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero
[179] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the re-
membrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from
Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandẽva, whose migrations were made many
167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves
181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres-
[184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbũã. Those that arrived at
the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling
in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity
to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado
they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they be-
lieve, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the
Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But
their day will come.

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756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbúa only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The flanderú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

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178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbúa is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that
167 formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook
[178] migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an
772 aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually
648 at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations.
183 This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started
[796] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes
of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so
passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its im-
portance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the
Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated de-
gree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Nanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrases: "I am the way,
[762] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the
path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea.
In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Nandéva, as the
path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins.
Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in
the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path
of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm
of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant
form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray
[124] with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his
frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapéjã as a na-
tion of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[182] and that extend through the night until the break of day, accord-
ing to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths
that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the
yvyráidjã. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does
not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

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As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

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/174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colonists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

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With regard to the Guarani who did not migrate to the coast and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies designed to obtain apuyú, one cannot properly speak of frustration. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

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the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Nandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

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The transformation of the myth among the Guarani who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilised population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and resources of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstinence in sexual life was known, yes, in /178/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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[557] It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

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182 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural contacts.

[184] One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

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[621] The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with this, the authority of the doctor-sage, originally exclusive, is influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservatism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

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 178 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
 182 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
 182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
 182 reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
 182 causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
 182 which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
 182 Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and
 182 poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities
 182 result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight
 182 toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

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10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./
 It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among
 these manifestations the considerable consumption
 of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day
 Guarani, undoubtedly bound up with the larger
 sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
 social disorganization and the frequency of con-
 tacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
 vice are the Nandéva and Mbá of the villages
 of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least,
 the Mbá most faithful to the original patterns
 of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbá
 of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay
 in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of
 my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
 most caboclinized, feel little pleasure when the sub-
 ject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice,
 which they try to fight, even by means of reme-
 dies. Others, like the Mbá of Rio Branco, talk
 about their tendency toward the use of drink with-
 out the least contrition: "Sometimes a person

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wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbã of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

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Among the Nandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

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There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

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substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

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and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

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Conclusion

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Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

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All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

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177 well as the doctrine, but they did not lead, as a final result, to
182 disintegration of the culture, except in a partial way and in certain communities; after the expulsion of the missionaries, the foreign elements, insofar as they survived, were integrated in the aboriginal cultural system in a satisfactory manner, without the latter's losing its original stamp. The second ones, stemming in the majority from the last century, appear incisive and even decisive for the existence of the culture and the survival of its bearers. Accompanied by a profound revolution in the conditions of life, they gave rise to a state of cultural poverty -- sometimes more, sometimes less extreme, according to the circumstances --, being manifested by two complementary aspects: first, by the maintenance of ancient solicitations, for whose satisfaction /180/ the ancient recourses already do not exist; second, by the appearance of new solicitations, for the satisfaction of which the extant or disposable recourses are not sufficient, whether in adaptive equipment, in the integrative equipment, or, finally, in the material possibilities of the environment themselves. Thus the acculturative crisis is reduced, on the concrete level, to the incompatibility of the ideals of life proposed by the tribal culture on the one hand, and by the forms of existence linked to civilization, on the other hand. The ancient cultural solicitations, demanding, besides a markedly mystical mentality, the realization of numerous religious ceremonies and feasts, some of them being prolonged for weeks or months, do not permit the formation of habits and mental attitudes inherent to the patterns of work necessary for an efficient interlocking of the Indian into the Occidental economy. As has also been observed in other native cultures, the lack of economic capacity, in the sense of a systematic and planned production, in accord with demands formerly nonexistent, tends to be overcome only with progressive individualization, that is, by the dissolution of local groups, which are, at the same time, communities of religious worship. Thus the processes of transformation take place concomitantly in the various cultural spheres, particularly by the replacement of religious and economic values, which in turn leads to linguistic acculturation, to miscegenation, and to demythologization.

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181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
179 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic
work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which
requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies parallel
to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other
native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensification
of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in
the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the
conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation
of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign
people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and
positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means
of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experiences.

[156] It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases results
in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in
the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation converges
more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system, while the women,
of more practical sense, are more constantly
[144] 181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties
of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from
the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to
adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like
the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba
maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indispensable
for the satisfaction of the new needs.

[241] In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[224] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the techniques
of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting excite
more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
male sex. During the phases of less intense association with
[135] foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the
different subsistence activities, the disavellation and impoverishment
becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

181 /181 cont./
182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

177 Since Guarani society does not give prestige to individuals
433 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
18 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
[554] as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
"indolence" which is imputed to the half-cabocloized Guarani,
who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not
know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy
the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong
inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for
economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the cul-
ture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the tra-
ditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
in other places, the Guarani still have the advantage of finding
in the yerba mate industry a field of application for their aptitude
as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Tereno and
Kaduvéo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and
their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock
fazendas. But the change in the yerbales does not provide them
with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely be-
cause it does not promote the replacement of the primitive im-
mediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of foresight of the
future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the
changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the
yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbi-
tant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as
batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end
in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages,
of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
596 munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

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177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It
is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one
night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently for-
getting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The
great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus
is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the re-
ligion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural
resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
777 (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up
with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of
the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of sup-
port in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to con-
stitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at
the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil,
among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at
the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the re-
ligious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups
originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or
urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in
magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are trans-
ferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices
and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an
effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and
analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief
are easily identified with the *Nandutia rembigaiti*, auxiliary
spirits, which the *Kayová* doctrine mentions.

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77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to
incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in
ancient times, when Nandéva, Mithá, and Kayová families did
not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and
ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid
and well defined whole.

[783] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation
proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them
that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on
this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for
the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul
post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the
actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature
of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural
sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not
considered morally responsible for his actions.

[784] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that
the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little
by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the
presence of all the members of the group is required: in most cases
it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always
someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And
furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes
the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less cer-
tain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos.
Because of the cultural disavowal stemming from that, there
is no ground for a community spirit that would join together
the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common
position before the white man the fact that they share with the
Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative isolation in
which caboclos and coastal peons always put them, the mestizos,
not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and
troublemakers, would soon direct their active animosity.

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177 The frustration of the Guarani in the effort to be looked at and treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin, added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, favors now and again the appearance of antiacculturative attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a reviviscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors, in cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration.

oo /Page 184 is blank; pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

/189/

Index

000 Preface	1
Note for the second edition	5
Chapter I	
The Guaraní tribe and its representatives in Brazilian territory	6
Chapter II	
Physical aspect	26
Chapter III	
Some elements of the material culture and their transformations	
1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings	34
2. Clothing	40
Chapter IV	
Principal subsistence activities and economic organization	47
Chapter V	
Individual and family	77
1. Childhood and the formation of the personality	77
2. Marriage	88
3. Economic relations in the family group	95
/190/	
Chapter VI	
States of crisis in Guaraní life	101
Chapter VII	
The chieftaincy of the community	119

/190 cont./

Chapter VIII

000

Fundamental elements of the religion and of the conception of the world	130
1. General characterization of the Guarani religion confronted by Christianity	130
2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul	136
3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one	155
4. Ideas about sicknesses and death	163
5. The direction of the religious acculturation	181

Chapter IX

Observations about the music and the folklore	194
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Chapter X

The myth of Paradise in Guarani culture and life	204
1. The Ñandéva	213
2. The Mbikí	218
3. The Kayová	221

Conclusion

228

Bibliography /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 185-188/.

- adjaká (Mbũá) -- carrying basket
adjó (Ñandéva) -- carrying basket
aguydjê -- happiness, perfection, victory (usually conceived as paradisiacal happiness in the supernatural world)
akanguá (Ñandéva) -- diadem
akn -- being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment
aññ (Ñandéva, Kayová) -- devil
anguêry (Ñandéva) -- spirit or "bad" soul of a dead person
apyká (Kayová) -- ceremonial bench
atryyguá (Ñandéva) -- "bad" soul of a living person (represents an animal character of a person)
avatí-mongaraí -- ceremonial harvesting of the first maize ("baptism of the maize")
ayvú (knê) (Ñandéva, Kayová) -- language, also "good" part of the soul (responsible for the noblest manifestations of the individual)
caraihas -- sorcerers
chicha -- fermented beverage
djasukávy (Kayová) -- principle of emanation
djeatsaá -- magic pendant
djíroký (Kayová) -- ceremonial dance
guyrapá í (Kayová) -- double musical bow

- huitxá (Kayová) -- "chief of the kids" (Port. chefe dos guris)
- kunumf-pepý (Kayová) -- initiation rites
- kunumf-porahéi (Kayová) -- initiation prayers
- karuguá (Mbllá) -- subject to the danger of sexual enchantment
- Mboekuaá (Ñandéva) -- prayer-man
- mbaraká (Mbllá) -- gourd rattle
- mbarimbáu (Mbllá) -- monochord
- mboguá (Mbllá) -- "bad" part of the soul
- mimbu (Kayová) -- whistle-flute
- mongaraí -- collective ceremonies
- mutirilo -- co-operative institution
- mynakú (Kayová) -- carrying basket
- Nandedjára -- god, spirit
- nandedjáva -- celestial beings or spirits
- nanderú (Ñandéva, Mbllá) -- religious chief
- Ñanderukeý (Ñandéva) -- celestial being

- Ñandety -- gothes ("our mother"), also female curers
Nanderú (vutau) (Ñandéva) -- celestial being
Ñanéneẽ (gue) -- soul
Ñeẽ (Mbũá, Ñandéva) -- soul, speech
Ñeẽgaraf (Kayová) -- magic song
Ñemondýlá -- state of the menstruating girl that requires resguardo
Ñemongaraf (Kayová) -- collective ceremonial, carnival
odjépotá -- sexual enchantment
(odjéhó) akú -- being subject to the danger of sexual enchantment (Port. resguardo)
oka (Kayová) -- dancing ground
paí (Kayová) -- religious chief
pajé -- sorcerer
perahẽi -- prayer
puxirõ -- co-operative institution (expression of the solidarity of a group)
puxirõ (Kayová) -- co-operation, solidarity
puxirõ (Mbũá) -- co-operation, solidarity
resguardo (Portuguese) -- caution, defense, preventive measures

- takuã (pú) -- rhythm stick for women
tavýterã -- celestial beings or spirits
tekópapã -- magic songs
tembetã -- labial ornament, lip plug
tambéõ -- clothing piece
Tupã (Nandéva) -- god of thunder
txeretẽ (Mbũã) -- physical part of a person ("my body")
txefeẽ (Mbũã) -- spiritual part of a person ("my spirit, my tongue, my speech")
txiripã (Kayová) -- piece of male clothing
txumbẽ (Kayová) -- band worn around waist
yvaý (Nandéva) -- sky
yvý-mará-eý -- mythical paradise (land without evil)
yvýñomimbyré (Nandéva) -- mythical paradise
yvyráldjá -- protector spirit, also an officiant assisting ñanderú or paí
yvý opã -- the end of the world

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

113

/For the bibliography to 2: Schaden, see Category 116, foreign text, pp. 185-188./

2: Schaden

SM4 Guarani SM4

461

464

/For general information on the puxirfo or collective labor organization, see category 476./

2: Schaden

2344 Guarani 2344

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/Information on the myth of paradise (Land Without Evil) in Guarani culture and life will be found
in category 772./

/For religious or shamanistic functions of the Paí or Nanderú in the community, see also category 756./

648

657

Guarani SM14

/For information on the role of the capitão -- captain, chief or leader of the village, who is concerned with civil affairs and appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, see category 624./

/For information on the role of the Paí or Nanderú in the political structure of the community, see also category 622./